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THE COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT ALFONSO DALBOQUERQUE

Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774

Volume 3

Afonso Albuquerque



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The Commentaries of the Great Alfonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India

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The Commentaries of the Great Alfonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India

Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774

Volume 3

Alfonso de Albuquerque

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THE

COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

SECOND VICEROY OF INDIA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

PORTUGUESE EDITION OF 1774,

With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.,

SENIOR ASSISTANT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; HONORARY LIBRARIAN OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE; HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, ETC.

VOL. III.

"Se as acções d'Albuquerque fossem communs, e ordinarias; se as suas emprezas não passassem as metas do possivel, nem a posteridade o collocaria na ordem dos Héroes, nem o seu nome chegaria a merecer o reverente pasmo dos seculos futuros."—ELOGIO *por Fr. Xav. de Oliveira.*

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INTRODUCTION.

. . . . . o grande Cavalleiro,
Que ao vento vélas deu na occidua parte,
E lá, onde infante o Sol dá luz primeiro,
Fixou das Quinas santas o Estendarte.
E com afronta do infernal guerreiro,
(Mercê do Ceo) ganhou por força, e arte
O aureo Reino, e trocou com pio exemplo
A profana mesquita em sacro templo.
*   *   *   *
O tempo chega, Affonso, em que a santa
Sião terá por vós a liberdade,
A Monarquia, que hoje o Ceo levanta,
Devoto consagrando a eternidade.
O, bem nascida generosa planta,
Que em flor fructo ha de dar á Christandade,
E materia a mil cysnes, que, cantando
De vós, se hirão comvosco eternizando.

De Christo a injusta morte vingou Tito
Na de Jerusalem total ruina:
E a vós, a quem Deos deu hum peito invitto,
Ser vingador de sua Fé destina.
Extinguir do Agareno o falso rito
He de vosso valor a empreza dina:
Tomai pois o bastão de empreza grande
Para o tempo que o Ceo marchar vos mande.

MALACA CONQUISTADA
pelo grande Affonso De Albuquerque.
Poema de Francesco de Sa' de Menezes.

THE Third Part of the COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE, a translation of which is given in this volume, maintains the interest in the Portuguese hero which was awakened by the previous

volumes. To the conquest of Ormuz and Goa, already published, we have here in continuation the second conquest of Goa, and the extension of the Portuguese empire to the Malay peninsula.

The volume opens with the return of Afonso Dalboquerque to Cananor, from which port he set sail with twenty ships, and put into Onor for supplies and water. Here he learned the imposing strength of the Hidalcão (about eight thousand Turks, Rumes, and Moors against seventeen hundred Portuguese), from Timoja and the friendly king of Garçopa, and then proceeded by way of Anjadiva to the river of Goa. A council was hereupon held, which resulted in an unanimous determination to attack the city at once, without relying upon the aid promised by the native chiefs. The forces were divided, but not without much opposition on the part of the captains, into three companies: one, commanded by Manuel da Cunha and Manuel de Lacerda, to attack the stockades near the citadel; another, under the leadership of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos, to storm the palisades near the sea; and a third, under the command of the Viceroy himself, to take the stockades in flank.

On the following morning, the 25th of November, 1510, with an effigy of their national patron, St. James the greater, carried in the van, a general assault was carried out, the stockades entered, and all who resisted the onward progress of the besiegers put to the sword; while of those who fled away in their panic over the numerous fords and passes an immense number were drowned. In this brilliant en-

gagement seven of the Portuguese officers were killed, among whom the author of the *Commentaries* especially signalises D. Jeronymo de Lima, André de Afonseca, Antonio Graces, and Alvaro Gomez, while on the side of the enemy not less than two thousand, about one-fourth of the whole native strength, were estimated to have perished.

In the sack which ensued, besides the miscellaneous plunder, none of which Afonso Dalboquerque cared to appropriate, a considerable quantity of artillery, munitions, and horses were taken, and in accordance with the bloodthirsty laws which appear to have regulated such occasions, not only in India, but in other countries claiming to be far more civilised at the period, no quarter was given; none of the hated sect of Mahomet were spared; men, women, and children were mercilessly put to death; and as a punishment for the treachery of which the Moors had been guilty when Afonso Dalboquerque took the city for the first time, for four days incessantly the Portuguese and Hindoos poured out the blood of the Moors who were found therein; and it was ascertained that of men, women, and children the number killed exceeded six thousand.[1] On this occasion the Viceroy is stated to have perpetrated a very horrible act of vengeance against the enemy; a mosque was filled with Moors taken captive by the Hindoos and then set on fire; and among the people who thus perished was a deserter who had gone over to the Hidalcão and turned Mahometan when Goa was taken for the first time.

[1] Page 16.

No time was lost by Afonso Dalboquerque in fortifying the city, every one, from the highest to the lowest, had to take his share of duty, and the walls, towers, and ditches were completed in a marvellously short space of time, "where it now stands", for the plan of which the reader is referred to vol. ii, p. 88.[1] During the excavations a bronze crucifix was dug up in the course of demolishing some old foundations. Curiously enough, Correa[2] mentions a similar discovery in November 1512 in these terms: "Tambem o Gouernador n'estas naos mandou a ElRey huma caixinha de prata, e dentro metido hum corpo de crucificio, que foy achado per hum homem cauando pera fazer hum poço, e o achou tendo feito coua de tres braças, que se achou no inuerno, que foy d'esta maneyra: que cauando hum pobre homem pera fazer hum poço, tendo altura de tres braças, achou hum corpo de crucificio de grandura menos de hum palmo, aberto por detrás, muyto gastado, e o rostro bom e barbas, e o braço direito polo cotouello sómente, e o esquerdo inteiro e o corpo e pernas e pés enteiros, e feito de hum metal que ouriues e lapidairos nunqua souberão conhecer, nem com o buril o poderão descobrir, que nada entrava n'elle: o que fez grande espanto no Gouernador e todos os fidalgos, que caso podia ser em tal lugar terra de mouros de tantos annos,

[1] One of the most exhaustive works on Portuguese Goa is that entitled, "An Historical and Archæological Sketch of the City of Goa, preceded by a short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa, written by authorisation of the Government, by José Nicolau da Fonseca, President of the 'Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras'." Bombay, 1878, 8vo.

[2] *Lendas da India*, 1, ii, p. 328.

sem auer memoria que nunqua n'ella ouvesse christãos." "The governor, Afonso Dalboquerque, also sent to the king in these ships a small casket of silver, and within it the figure of our Saviour from a crucifix, which had been found by a poor man who was digging the foundation for a well. This man found it when he had dug down as deep as three fathoms, and it was in the winter under the following circumstances. There was a poor man digging the foundation for a well, and at the depth of three fathoms he found the figure from a crucifix of the height of less than a palm, hollow behind, very worn, but the countenance and beard well preserved; the right arm broken off at the elbow, the left whole, the body, legs, and feet uninjured, made of a metal unknown to the goldsmiths and lapidaries, for it could not be scratched with the point of a graver. This excited great wonder in the governor and *Fidalgoes* how it could have chanced to get into such a place, for so many years the country of Moors, in which there was no remembrance of there ever having been any Christian inhabitants."

In return for this victory Afonso Dalboquerque made several presents to the convent of Palmela, the head of the military order of Santiago, and to the church of the same saint in Gallicia a lamp, and money to be invested for the supply of oil for the lamp. A similar gift of a lamp and provision for its oil was made by the viceroy on a later occasion, when he narrowly escaped death from a cannon ball.

The news of the fall of Goa effected a rapid change in the attitude of the Indian princes towards the Portu-

guese. The king of Cambaya set free D. Afonso de Noronha, nephew of Afonso Dalboquerque, and offered the site for a fortress at Diu, and the preparation of a Turkish fleet to operate against the Portuguese was countermanded by the Grand Sultan of Cairo. The letter sent by Dalboquerque to the Hidalcão announcing the capture of Goa, and offering the monopoly of the important trade in horses, also plainly shows the rapid exaltation of Portuguese *prestige* in consequence of this event. Not long after this, Meliqueaye, (perhaps the Portuguese equivalent of Melek Yahya,) was sent by the Hidalcão against the island, but he and his numerous army were routed without much difficulty, and the erection of the fortress, the colonisation of the newly acquired territory by Hindoo families (a race to whom Afonso Dalboquerque, throughout his career, always manifested great kindness), and the consolidation of the government of the province, for province indeed it was, proceeded rapidly and without interruption.

The advent of the royal Hindoo Merlao (or Milrrhau, as he is called in the latter part of this volume) enabled Afonso Dalboquerque to gratify the native Hindoos and Nequibares, and at the same time to ingratiate himself with them, by conferring upon him the farmer-generalship of the newly acquired territory for about thirty thousand pounds—a considerable sum in those days, and a welcome addition to the revenues of Portugal. But these matters did not cause the Viceroy to forget the other parts of his Indian jurisdiction, and in accordance with Royal instructions he dispatched

Diogo Fernandez de Béja with a fleet of three ships to dismantle the fortress of Socotra.[1]

The fall of the important city of Goa brought the Çamorin of Calicut to the feet of Afonso Dalboquerque for the time, and his offers of peace resulted in the mission of Simão Rangel, but on the arrival of that ambassador at the Çamorim's court that prince had somewhat recovered from his alarm, and his artifices succeeded in protracting negotiations, which were not to be crowned with success for a long time yet to come,

[1] The island was taken possession of by the Portuguese in 1507, but passed from the possession of Portugal to that of the Sultan of Keshin, a small territory on the opposite Arabian coast. This island is off the gulf of Aden, situated about 150 miles N.E. from Cape Guardafum, and extends about seventy or eighty miles from west to east, with an average width of fifteen or twenty miles. It contains 1,300 square miles, consisting chiefly of a table land, which is between 700 or 800 feet above the level of the sea. North and south of the table land are two plains. The northern plain is not so low as the southern, nor so level, the surface being intersected by flat valleys in many places. The western districts of this plain, though less sterile than the southern plain, are more adapted for pastures than for cultivation. The eastern districts have a superior soil, which is a reddish earth, covered in certain seasons with abundant grass, and well adapted for the cultivation of grain, fruit, and vegetables. In most of the northern plains water is found at a depth of from 8 feet to 10 feet below the surface. The climate is sultry. During the north-east monsoon there is an almost daily fall of rain. The island is exposed both to the north-west and north-east monsoons, rendering the anchorages unsafe. There are about 5,000 inhabitants, consisting of two distinct races—namely, Arabs who have settled on the island, and the aboriginal inhabitants, who are Bedouins, wandering from one part of the island to another with their flocks and herds. The principal commercial products are aloes of the finest quality, the dragon's-blood tree, tamarinds,

and Afonso Dalboquerque contented himself with a blockade of Calicut by a small and probably inefficient fleet, which was compelled by the disastrous turn of affairs at Goa to hasten to the relief of the besieged garrison there.

Another Indian potentate, whose policy was manifestly disturbed by the Portuguese successes, was the King of Narsinga, to whom Fray Luiz had been accredited by Afonso Dalboquerque in the previous year.[1] This king hastened, after some tergiversation, to conclude an alliance with the Portuguese commander, but Fray Luiz did not live to return, being murdered at the reported instigation of the Hidalcão.

After putting the local government of the city and island of Goa into a satisfactory condition, dedicating the principal church to the patronage of St. Catherine,

tobacco, and various fruits and gums, besides some cotton and indigo. Sheep and goats in the western districts constitute the principal wealth of the inhabitants ; the oxen are small. The civet cat and chameleon are found all over the island. Turtles are found on the southern coast. Fish abound on several parts of the coast, and many families live on the produce of their fishing. The capital is Tamarida, with only 100 inhabitants, built not far from the northern shores.

As the island lies almost directly in the line of our communication with India from the Red Sea, it has acquired additional importance by the construction of the Suez Canal, and this consideration has, without doubt, determined the action of the Indian Government, which, in 1876, entered into a treaty by which, for a small subsidy, the Sultan engaged never to cede Socotra to any foreign power, nor to allow any settlement to be made on it without the consent of the British Government. The Indian Government has lately re-occupied the island, and the British flag was rehoisted there not long ago.

[1] See vol. II, ch. xvii.

on whose auspicious feast day he had gained the victory, appointing various officers, munitioning the fortress, assisting by beneficent measures the colonisation of the lands, and re-establishing the currency, it was Afonso Dalboquerque's intention to have proceeded without delay to the Red Sea; but two events had transpired which caused him to change his mind, and this change was productive of unexpectedly great and glorious achievements, which added new lustre to the already brilliant career of the Viceroy.

One of these was the circumstance of the continued captivity of Ruy de Araujo and his companions in Malaca against the advice of Ninachatu (or Ninapam, as Correa calls him), the Hindoo adviser of the king of that country, the other the natural desire of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos, who had come from Portugal under special orders to effect the release of these prisoners, to make his way thither without delay, although Afonso Dalboquerque, in the exercise of his undoubted authority, desired to put off this undertaking for a more convenient opportunity, when a more imposing force than that which Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos commanded could be mustered for the service. The determined intention and endeavour of Diogo Mendez to separate from the fleet of his superior officer, in direct opposition to orders, did not succeed at the time, yet this act undoubtedly operated with some weight in influencing the subsequent movements of Afonso Dalboquerque, who, finding the winds adverse to his intended voyage to the Red Sea, reversed his course, and after a brief stoppage at Cochim, shaped

his way as straight as he could for Malaca, and brought up his fleet at Pedir, on the northern coast of Sumatra.

At this port the hopes of the Portuguese were raised in a remarkable degree by the unexpected meeting with João Viegas and eight other members of the little band under the headship of Ruy de Araujo, that had escaped from their durance at Malaca. These men pointed out to Afonso Dalboquerque the complicity of the Moor Naodabegea or Naodabeguea in the plot to destroy Diogo Lopez de Sequeira and his retreat to Pacé, a neighbouring port at which the Portuguese fleet touched, and made ineffectual efforts to get him into the hands of the commander. But on the advance of the fleet towards the waters of Malaca the Moor was overtaken in a *pangajaoa*, and after a sharp encounter, in which the enemy were worsted, the curious spectacle of the fugitive Naodabegea, severely wounded and nearly dead, but without any blood flowing from his mangled body, presented itself to the astonished eyes of the Portuguese. This apparently unaccountable circumstance was explained by the finding of a bracelet made of the bones of the animal called *cabal*, a word which appears to be related somewhat too transparently with that signifying *horse* in many European languages. The peculiar power possessed by this bracelet of preventing the flow of blood from any wounds which the wearer should experience recalls the incident of the magic scabbard of King Arthur's sword, *Excalibur*. In the *Morte d'Arthur* we read: " 'Well,' said the damsel, 'go ye into yonder barge, and row yourself unto the sword, and take it

and the scabbard with you'......So King Arthur and Merlin alighted, tied their horses to two trees, and so they went into the barge. And when they came to the sword that the hand held, King Arthur took it up by the handles, and took it with him......and so came to the land and rode forth. King Arthur looked upon the sword and liked it passing well. 'Whether liketh you better,' said Merlin, 'the sword or the scabbard?' 'Me liketh better the sword,' said King Arthur. 'Ye are more unwise,' said Merlin, 'for the scabbard is worth ten of the sword, *for while ye have the scabbard upon you ye shall lose no blood, be ye never so sore wounded, therefore keep well the scabbard always with you.*'" This strangely gifted bracelet was sent by Afonso Dalboquerque to the King of Portugal, but was lost on the voyage, with other unwonted evidences of his prowess, and rare trophies of Portuguese valour over the unknown races of the Eastern world.

After the incident of capturing a junk, on board of which was the King of Pacé, who was evidently making the best of his way to Malaca to warn the king of the propinquity of the hostile Armada, Malaca was reached, and negotiations were immediately commenced for the restitution of the Portuguese captives, and for satisfaction of the insult done to that nation by their detention; but this only resulted in the king temporising with Afonso Dalboquerque while he secretly made extensive preparations to withstand his demands. At this point the author of the *Commentaries* breaks off for the moment the thread of his narrative, and devotes a chapter to a historical digression upon the

site and foundation of the kingdom and city of Malaca, and another chapter to a description of the customs and government of the city. We may here, in like manner for the moment so far digress, as to glance at the impression made by Malaca, in its present phase of existence, upon the learned Mr. Wallace, in his most interesting work on the Malay Archipelago. Writing in 1869 the author says:—

"At present[1] a vessel over a hundred tons hardly ever enters its port, and the trade is entirely confined to a few petty products of the forests, and to the fruit which the trees planted by the old Portuguese now produce for the enjoyment of the inhabitants of Singapore. Although rather subject to fevers, it is not at present considered very unhealthy.

"The population of Malacca consists of several races. The ubiquitous Chinese are perhaps the most numerous, keeping up their manners, customs, and language; the indigenous Malays are next in point of numbers, and their language is the Lingua-franca of the place. Next come the descendants of the Portuguese—a mixed, degraded, and degenerate race, but who still keep up the use of their mother-tongue, though ruefully mutilated in grammar; and then there are the English rulers, and the descendants of the Dutch, who all speak English. The Portuguese spoken at Malacca is a useful philological phenomenon. The verbs have mostly lost their inflections, and one form does for all moods, tenses, numbers, and persons. *Eu vai* serves for 'I go', 'I went', or 'I will go'. Adjectives, too, have been deprived of their feminine and plural terminations, so that the language is reduced to a marvellous simplicity, and, with the admixture of a few Malay words, becomes rather puzzling to one who has heard only the pure Lusitanian.

[1] Alfred R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*. London, 8vo., 1869, pp. 41, 42.

"In costume, these several peoples are as varied as in their speech. The English preserve the tight-fitting coat, waistcoat, and trousers, and the abominable hat and cravat; the Portuguese patronise a light jacket, or, more frequently, shirt and trousers only; the Malays wear their national jacket and *sarong* (a kind of kilt), with loose drawers; while the Chinese never depart in the least from their national dress, which indeed it is impossible to improve for a tropical climate, whether as regards comfort or appearance. The loosely-hanging trousers, and neat, white half shirt half jacket, are exactly what a dress should be in this low latitude."

The testimony also of the gifted author of a recent work upon the Straits of Malaca may be here perused with advantage, for its characteristic touches upon the state of the settlement in 1875. Mr. J. Thomson says:—

"I paid a passing visit[1] to Malacca, but finding it neither an interesting nor a profitable field, I made but a short stay in the place. Malacca is a quaint, dreamy, Dutch-looking old town, where one may enjoy good fruit, and the fellowship and hospitality of the descendants of the early Portuguese and Dutch colonists.

"Should any warmhearted bachelor wish, he might furnish himself with a pretty and attractive looking wife from among the daughters of that sunny clime; but let him make no long stay there if indisposed to marry, unless he can defy the witchery of soft dark eyes, of raven tresses,

[1] J. Thomson, F.R.G.S., *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China.* London, 1875, 8vo., pp. 52, 53. For further information upon Malacca and the adjacent countries and islands, the reader may consult with advantage the work by J. H. Moor, on *The Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1837, 4to.; Newbold, *British Settlements of Malacca*, 1839; Crawford, *Dictionary of the Indian Archipelago.*

and of sylph-like forms. It is a spot where leisure seems to sit at every man's doorway; drowsy as the placid sea, and idle as the huge palms whose broad leaves nod above the old weather-beaten smug-looking houses. Here Nature comes laden at each recurring season with ripe and luscious fruits, dropping them from her lap into the very streets, and bestrewing the byeways with glorious bananas on which even the fat listless porkers in their wayside walks, will hardly deign to feed. It is withal a place where one might loiter away a life, dreamily, pleasantly, and uselessly. These are but passing impressions, and Malacca may yet, after all, develop into something in every way worthy of the straits which bear its name."

In this chapter also the author of the *Commentaries* has put on record some early and interesting information concerning the inhabitants of Lequea, or the Loo-choo Islands, who are there called Gores and maintained considerable trade with the Malay settlements in the peninsula. These islands have lately become somewhat prominent in Asiatic politics, in consequence of the disagreement between China and Japan, produced by the forcible seizure of them by the latter power.

The *Politische Correspondenz* gives an official review of the dispute between China and Japan regarding the Loo-choo Islands, in a letter from Shanghai dated July 18, 1879. It says:—

"The Japanese Government took possession with a military force of the Loo-Choo Islands last April, and transported its Governor, who called himself a King, and yearly paid tribute both to China[1] and Japan, to Yeddo. He

[1] With respect to the relations of the Loo-Choo Empire to China, it is proved from Chinese historical works that even in the earliest times, during the reigns of the Emperors of the dynasty

here received the rank and income of a Japanese Prince. At the same time he was replaced by a Japanese Governor, and the whole country placed under Japanese control; the paying of tribute to China was stopped, and the Chinese system of a calculation of time was replaced by the Japanese calendar.[1] All these changes were so well prepared, so quickly carried out, that they were only known after they had actually taken place, although at the time doubted. Everybody was curious to know what steps the Chinese would take in the matter.

"The little Loo-Choo Empire extends between 20 and 30 degrees of latitude, in a north-eastern direction, from the northern end of Formosa to the southern end of Japan. It is composed of over three hundred little islands, and divided into three large groups, called Tshung-shan, Shan-nan, and Shan-pei. This geographical arrangement is also the political arrangement, as the three groups form the three provinces of the Empire, which are again divided into thirty-five districts, and these into 378 parishes. The capital town, at the same time the former residence of the Prince, is Ewang, on the Tshung-shan. Of the number of the inhabitants nothing positive is known, but they are a peace-loving people, cultivating their land and carrying on cattle breeding. Their habits and dress are similar to those of the Chinese. They write in Chinese characters, but the common dialect is similar to the Japanese. Regarding the real history of the people nothing at all is known.

"The Loo-Choo Islands were the causes of continual

Han, the Princes of the Loo-Choo Islands paid their tribute to China. In the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Kanghi (1681), the tribute to be sent was settled as follows:—12,600 catties of sulphur, 3,000 muschels, and 30,000 catties of copper. One cattic is 1 1-3lb. English.

[1] Since 1372 of the Christian calculation, the Chinese calendar has been in use on the Loo-Choo Islands, the years being named and numbered according to the Chinese Emperors.

quarrel between China and Japan in earlier times, the latter having repeatedly tried to annex this little island-empire. In the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Wan-li (1592), a number of the inhabitants of the Loo-Choo islands were delegated to China to complain of Japan's attempts to annex the islands by force. These efforts, as well as others made in 1606, were frustrated. Yang-Tsung Ye, the Chinese Commander-in-Chief of the province Chekiang, brought (also in Wan-li's reign in 1613) the Prince of the Loo-Choo Islands, who governed then, and who had been forcibly carried off by the Japanese, back again into his kingdom.

"It is not to be doubted that, although the Chinese are able to prove historically a certain Suzerainty over the Loo-choo Islands, the Japanese can also do the same; in fact, both Empires have hitherto considered the Loo-Choo islands a state dependent on them; both the Emperors of China and of Japan style themselves Suzerain of the Loo-Choo Islands, and it will have to be proved which of the two is able to prove supremacy and to keep it.

"When the news of the seizing of the Loo-Choo islands by Japan reached Pekin, great surprise and dissatisfaction was shown among the supporters of the Government. A few days earlier the new Japanese Ambassador at Pekin had presented his credentials without taking advantage of the occasion to say a word. On Prince Kung and the Ministers of the Tsungli-Yamen appealing to him regarding the action of his Government, he replied that he was, with regard to this question, without any instructions whatever. The Japanese Government, in answer to the Chinese Ambassador's appeal at Yeddo, replied that they were ready to prove at any time their right to the Loo-Choo Islands, and that a giving up of them could never be thought of. Japan, who only would yield what she had taken by force of arms, to do which China has not the means, having neither money, an army, and, least of all, a fleet.

"From authentic quarters it is affirmed that Prince Kung conferred with ex-President Grant, who visited

Pekin lately, on this question. Prince Kung begged his intervention. General Grant may have given his word to introduce this subject in a private conversation, but not officially, as the General in his retired position would undoubtedly avoid even exercising a seeming influence on the politics of the present Government of the United States.

"In Pekin,[1] according to the latest news, the excitement seems to be on the increase; the Ministers of the Tsungli-Yamên speak of war between China and Japan, but they at the same time make it known that they will first call in the intervention of the Foreign Powers, hoping thus to attain restitution of their original position. But whether such an intervention, in case of hostilities really breaking

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[1] I have extracted this from the *Standard*, which, at the time, published the following remarks upon the situation of affairs:—"The cloud which arose six months ago between China and Japan, in consequence of the seizure by the latter of the Loo-choo Islands, has not yet cleared off. In fact, it may be said that, despite the hope prevailing among the European communities in the far East, it has grown thicker in the months that have elapsed since the Loo-Choo question first attracted attention. Nor does this afford any just ground for surprise. For centuries the Chinese have exercised rights over the Prince of those Islands; neither Japan nor any other Power has ever challenged them; but suddenly they discovered that the Mikado of Japan had taken possession of the islands, deposed the Ruler, and nominated a Governor of his own. He has since justified the seizure by asserting that the Loo-Choo Islands have always been tributary to the Prince of Satsuma, the great feudatory of Kinshin, who was finally overthrown in 1877. The Manchu dynasty has never been remarkable for its indifference, nor, indeed, has any of its predecessors upon the Throne of Pekin, to the rights which it has acquired; and the Japanese Government took this step at a moment when the Chinese had given signal proof not only of their determination not to abate one jot of their pretensions, but also of their ability to enforce them. It is true that months have passed since the tidings reached China that a Japanese garrison held Loo-Choo, and that a Japanese fleet was riding in the roadstead of Napa-

out, would be granted is difficult to predict. Anyhow, the attitude of China to England in the serious difficulties between China and Japan some years ago regarding Formosa is too fresh in people's memory not to be profitably used at the present time.

"The inhabitants of the Loo-Choo Islands are said to have sent a deputation to Pekin to beg her direct help in their favour. The Japanese consuls in the Chinese ports have received orders by telegraph to seize the members of the deputations on their appearing and send them back to Japan. A Japanese corvette is now at Shanghai, and two other Japanese men-of-war are cruising about in Chinese waters. In case of this news being true, the deputation

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kiang without beholding a Chinese fleet and army being despatched to reassert the Imperial authority. But it is not in accordance with Chinese habits to be precipitate, even if the supposed efficiency of the Japanese fleet were not an additional incentive to caution. The latest official announcement is one fully in consonance with the train of thought of the official Chinese mind. A despatch has been sent to the Mikado informing him that, unless the Japanese forces are withdrawn, and Loo-Choo restored to its old state of semi-independence and double vassalage to China and Japan, within the space of three months, he must take the consequences. The Japanese are anxious to have the matter submitted to either a mixed Commission or to an arbitrator, knowing well that Europeans, and Englishmen in particular, have little sympathy with the claims China possesses, and periodically advances, over most of the States of Eastern Asia. The Tokio authorities perceive that, in the eyes of most foreigners, China's grievance with regard to Loo-Choo is sentimental, for the Pekin Government does not demand the surrender of the islands. Far from that, it wishes to ensure their autonomy, only demanding the perpetuation of the nominal tie and of the fluctuating tribute which have constituted Loo-Choo in its eyes a portion of the Celestial Empire. There are deeper motives behind, and underneath all this talk about the past there is a very clear perception of the fact that the Loo-Choo question is one of practical importance."

may have succeeded in landing on some place on the coast, and making their way to Pekin,[1] where, however, they have not yet arrived. Leaving aside the question of the right of possession, it is not to be denied that the Japanese have shown great skill and energy in carrying out their purpose, and an exact knowledge of Chinese affairs. China will be

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[1] "At Pekin it is evident that the Japanese occupation of the Islands constitutes a grave danger to China. An insult of such a venial character to the Imperial dignity might be tolerated; but a menace to the nation must be grappled with, so that it shall not develope into an actual peril. It is on this point that something may, with advantage, be said at the present time, when various circumstances are calculated to put the Japanese view so prominently forward that the Chinese claims may be lost sight of. The gist of the difference lies in the question, why is the Japanese occupation of Loo-Choo dangerous to the peace of China. Between China and Japan there has been for centuries a rivalry, not very dissimilar to that which existed for a long time between France and England. The introduction of Western ideas, arts, and manufactures into the two countries, far from allaying the keenness of the rivalry, had rather the effect of embittering it. The very eagerness shown by the Japanese to acquire gun-boats and improved weapons was a grievance in the eyes of the conservative Chinese, for they felt that their neighbours would test their naval and military efficiency either upon them or against some of their outlying possessions. The example set by the Japanese proved contagious, however, and there is good reason for believing that the Celestials have now, mainly through the energy of the Viceroy Li-Hung-Chang, caught up with their progressive neighbour, so far as the purchase of men of war, rifles, and improved artillery can be said to constitute progress. For military purposes the two States may be admitted to be much on an equality, provided the numerous responsibilities of the Pekin Government do not detract from its vigour at the critical moment. At the same time, the advantage of position undoubtedly lies with Japan, and this would enable her fleet to prosecute an offensive war on the exposed seaboard of China with very considerable effect. The occupation of Loo-Choo further improves that posi-

quite as incapable of taking the islands from Japan as she was in preventing her from seizing them. Even Japan may, after these first successful efforts, at no very distant time take steps to occupy Formosa, where new sources of wealth, exhausted in her own country, are to be found in rich abundance."

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tion, for the excellent harbour of Napakiang in its sheltered bay provides the Mikado's fleet with a station on the flank of the Eastern and Yellow Seas, within two days' steaming of the coasts of Fuhkien and Chekiang. But it has further advantages which have not been mentioned, and prominent among them must be held to be that the possession of the Loo-Choo Islands carries with it that of the little-known Madjicosemah group. This latter lies off the east coast of Formosa, and has enjoyed in the eyes of the neighbouring countries a semi-sacred reputation, not widely different to that held by the Hesperides in the mythology of ancient Greece. The two largest of the group are Pachuran and Typinsan; and the coast of Formosa is less than one hundred and fifty miles distant from the former. It thus appears that the apparently harmless act of the Japanese in deposing the king of Loo-Choo has resulted in their acquisition of two groups of islands, representing a tract of territory as large as England and Wales, and having a commanding position in waters which have always been considered to be Chinese. A glance at the map will suffice to show that the Mikado has now obtained possession of two admirable halting-places on the road to Formosa and the China coast. By the acquisition of Napakiang he has supplemented the value of his own western harbours, and there is no reason for supposing that Pachusan does not contain convenient bays and safe roadsteads. These facts should show that the Loo-Choo question is one not of sentiment alone to the Chinese, but of serious practical import. Unfamiliar as the names of these places may be to us they are well known in the history of China, and the Pekin rulers are aware that as they have in past times exercised considerable influence on the result of wars between China and Japan, it is quite probable that they would do so again in any future struggle.

"The hostile policy which Japan has always pursued towards

Negotiations with the King of Malaca having failed, Afonso Dalboquerque made extensive preparations for resorting to force, and, as a preliminary step, attracted to his side a merchant fleet of five Chinese junks, having a force on board which the King of Malaca was about

China, her intrigues in Corea, and expeditions to Formosa, have kept the vigilance of the Celestials constantly on the alert. Li-Hung-Chang now beholds the Mikado, strong in his new freedom and liberated from the dread of his arrogant Daimios, stretching out his hand to the north and to the south for the purpose of extending his influence and curtailing that of China. Within the last few months Japan has committed two acts which will further incense her rival. The one is the occupation of the Loo-Choo and Madjicosemah Islands, which brings her close to Formosa, the Chinese Ireland, and the other is the signature of a Treaty with the King of Corea, which gives Japanese subjects special privileges in that country. The Mikado has thus not restricted his aggressive policy to the sea. His alliance with the ruler of the peninsula of Corea gives him a foothold on the mainland, which acquires special significance from the remembrance of the siege of Nankin and triumphs on the Yangtse by the Japanese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These considerations, and others of a similar kind, make it very improbable that the Chinese will acquiesce in the most recent achievement brought about by the aggressive policy of Japan. To them it will appear to be a bad policy to show weakness with regard to Loo-Choo. The Japanese are the aggressors. They have no sufficient excuse for their seizure of this group, and they have for years followed a systematic policy which would, if China continued as indifferent as she is now counselled by some of her friends to remain, lead to the loss of every island she possesses beyond the immediate vicinity of her shores. If Sir Thomas Wade, or some other leading authority on the spot, cannot induce the Japanese to withdraw, the Chinese will, beyond all question, take the matter into their own hands, and at the fitting moment endeavour to expel the Japanese from the islands which they have seized."—*Ib.*

to employ in military operations against the King of Daru or Aru,[1] a state on the coast of Sumatra, nearly opposite the port of Malaca, with which he was at war.

On the feast day of St. James the Greater the storming of the bridge or pier was made, under circumstances narrated in the text, and a great part of the city fired. These operations, although they did not result immediately in the fall of the city, severely harrassed the enemy, and crippled his resources. The author of *Malaca Conquistada* records the subsequent attack upon and destruction of the city by fire in these stanzas.

"Em tanto das janellas, e terrados,
Que para aquella parte respondião,
Mil frechas, mil pelouros desmandados
Sobre a gente Christã mortes chovião:
Mas, chamando Albuquerque aos esforçados
Lima e Caldeira, áquelles que região,
Lhes mandou que de fogo as mãos armassem,
E que as vizinhas casas abrazassem.

"Manda tambem o Malavar valente
Que com os seus adustos tiradores
Impida o assomarse a imiga gente
Ás partes, que lhe ficão superiores.
Da empreza o forte barbaro contente
Os seus incita a bellicos furores:
Mil, e mil frechas logo os ares calão,
Troços de breados cabos fogo exhalão.

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[1] The initial "D" here, as in *Dupe* lower down, is plainly only the Portuguese preposition *de* in combination. The place appears as *Daru* in the Portolano of Fernão Vaz Dourado, and as *Aru* in the map given by the Dutch translator of João de Barros.

"Dão ao mandato effeito: pega o fogo
Na disposta materia: com tremenda
Furia vibrantes pontas sobem logo
Aos ares, e de fumo nuvem horrenda:
Grita a misera gente; porém rogo
Não admitte a voraz chamma, contenda
Com as nuvens horrisona travando,
As esféras mais altas ameaçando.

"Eolo neste ponto desatava
Da formosa Orithia o bravo amante,
Com que o incendio cruel mais se esforçava,
Com horrivel estrondo crepitante.
Contra o fogo remedios mil buscava
A Pagã gente, mas nenhum bastante,
Que c'o vento de casa em casa prende,
E, consumindo aqui, já lá se accende.

"Edificio, em grandeza, e valor raro,
Sobre secretas rodas se movia,
Finge a materia o marmore de Paro
Illustre c'o metal, que Arabia cria.
Nelle, se lhe não fora o fado avaro,
Da Infante as bodas celebrar queria
O Rei, e com alegre variedade
Carro triunfante dar vista á cidade.

"Á nupcial casa, de delicias chêa,
Tambem se atreve o vingativo lume,
E na materia rica assi se atêa,
Que em leve fumo, e cinza em fim a resume:
Della a mesquita, onde com torpe e fêa
Adoração, e barbaro costume,
Ao vil Mafoma hourava a gente cega,
A flamma ardente em consumir se emprega.

"Á mesquita esquadrão confuso acode,
E procura atalhar o fogo. Em tanto
Vendo o prudente Affonso que não pode
Cansada a gente com trabalho tanto;

Porque o intento ao possivel se accommode;
Em quanto o incendio dura, e crece o pranto,
A artilharia embarcar manda ganhada,
E a que em terra ficou deixa encravada.

"O esquadrão militar logo começa
A ir, e vir, despojos embarcando,
Como no estio com fervente pressa
Multidão de formigas, saqueando
De trigo as eiras, montes atravessa
Por entre ervas, e espinhos, sustentando
Na boca o grão pezado, até encerrallo,
E na estreita caverna enthesourallo.

"As barbaras catervas offendidas,
Quando tanto despojo embarcar virão;
A dar e recebir novas feridas
Bramando vingativos acodirão.
Torna de novo a morte a troncar vidas:
Aqui appellidão Marte, alli suspirão;
Em fim effeitos crus de dura guerra
No mar ostentão, porém mais na terra.

"Rios correm do sangue derramado;
Que, nas ondas entrando, em sanguinosa
Mudão a cor cerúlea: de ira armado
Se vê o mesmo furor, vista espantosa!
Mas já fim dava ao dia o Sol dourado
Do grande Oceano visitando a esposa:
Torna-se ás naus a baptizada gente;
A Agarena o elemento apaga ardente."

Liv. ix, st. 134-143.

The Javanese headman, Utemutaraja, who administered the suburban district of Upe or Dupe,[1] made overtures of service, and for the time, but not without showing suspicions, which were afterwards verified,

[1] See p. xxii.

Afonso Dalboquerque accepted his services. In the end, probably out of political necessity quite as much as proved guilt, this prince was convicted of treachery, and executed with his son and son-in-law, as an effectual means of restoring quiet in, and manifesting the Portuguese power over, the city. The Chinese, who had come for trading purposes in their junks, seized this opportunity of renewing their request for permission to depart on the prosecution of their voyage to Siam, and the Portuguese commander gladly availed himself of the occasion to send Duarte Fernandez as ambassador to Siam in their company.

After a characteristic speech, setting forth the Imperial policy of the Portuguese king, Afonso Dalboquerque again pushed forward in full strength, assaulted the bridge, and made good his position upon it. From that hour the fate of Malaca was sealed, and soon fell an easy prey into the hands of the commander, who thus captured in a city extending three miles along the shore, and of great depth inland, an incredible amount of plunder and three thousand pieces of artillery, and added to Portugal a territory considerably larger than the mother kingdom. But the King of Malaca, although in full flight, was yet in hopes of rescuing his patrimony from the foreign invader, and dispatched his own uncle, Tuão Nacem Mudaliar, to the King of China, an empire at that period in close alliance with the Malay king, to beg for assistance. Tuão Nacem made his way to Canton, and from that port was conveyed, according to custom, to Pekin; but the King of China, who had heard

of the friendly treatment accorded by Afonso Dalboquerque (for this very political object) to the Chinese merchants at Malaca, was unwilling to act, and Tuão Nacem Mudaliar, partly out of chagrin for the failure of his mission, and partly dispirited at the untimely death of his wife, did not live to convey the news of his repulse by the Chinese court to his royal nephew, but died on the return journey at Yang-chow-fu or Yang-cheu-fu, near Nanking.[1]

A manuscript Report, in which is embodied a succinct historical relation of the principal European embassies to China, now preserved among the Wellesley papers in the MS. department of the British Museum, very justly attributes to Afonso Dalboquerque the design of establishing friendly relations with the Chinese empire. This design was probably suggested to him in the first place by the intercourse he had with the Chinese merchant junks in the port of Malaca at the time of the siege. The following passage describes briefly the first dealings of Portugal and China :—

"Alphonso Albuquerque (from whose wise administration, while Viceroy in the East Indies, Portugal derived such advantages) formed the design of opening a communication with China, though he did not live to see it attempted. In consequence of intelligence sent by him to the Court of Portugal, a squadron sailed from Lisbon, in 1518, to convoy an Ambassador to China. The Abbé Raynal's account of this Embassy is as follows :—

[1] Yang-cheu-fu, in Kiang-su, 32 deg. 26.32 min. N., 117 deg. 4.13 min. E., was, in 1277, under the Mongols, a *lu*, or chief town of a district. Marco Polo is said to have been governor of this town for three years. He cites it under the name of Yanju. But see Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii, 138, etc.

"As soon as the squadron arrived at the islands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was surrounded by Chinese vessels, who came to reconnoitre it. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, did not put himself in any posture of defence, he suffered the Chinese to come on board, communicated the object of his voyage to the Mandarins that presided at Canton, and sent his ambassador on shore, who was conducted to Pekin.

"Whatever may have been the state of China when the Portuguese landed there, as they had no other object in view than to draw riches from thence and to propagate their religion, had they found the best kind of government established in this country, they would not have profited by it. Thomas Perez, their Ambassador, found the Court of Pekin disposed to favour his nation, the fame of which had spread itself throughout Asia. It had already attracted the esteem of the Chinese, which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded the Portuguese squadron, tended still further to increase. He visited all the coasts of China, and traded with the natives. When he was on the point of departure, he issued a proclamation in the ports he had put into, that if any one had been injured by a Portuguese, and would make it known, he should recover satisfaction. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to them. Thomas Perez was just about concluding a Treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coast with a fresh squadron. This commander treated the Chinese in the same manner as the Portuguese had for some time treated all the people of Asia. He built a fort, without permission, on the island of Taman, from whence he took opportunities of pillaging and extorting money from all the ships bound from or to the ports of China. He carried off young girls from the coast, he seized upon the Chinese, and made slaves of them; he gave himself up to the most licentious acts of piracy, and the most shameful dissoluteness. The sailors and soldiers under his command followed his example. The Chinese, enraged

at these outrages, fitted out a large fleet; the Portuguese defended themselves courageously, and escaped by making their way through the enemy's fleet. The Emperor imprisoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portuguese nation was banished from China for some years. After this the Chinese relaxed, and gave permission to the Portuguese to trade at the port of Sancian, to which place they brought gold from Africa, spices from the Molucca Islands, aud from Ceylon elephants' teeth, and some precious stones. In return they took silks of every kind, china, gums, medicinal herbs, and tea, which has since become so necessary a commodity to the northern nations of Europe.

"The Portuguese contented themselves with the huts and factories they had at Sancian, and the liberty granted to their trade by the Chinese Government, till an opportunity offered of establishing themselves upon a footing more solid and less dependant upon the Mandarins, who had the command of the coast.

"A pirate named Tchang-si-lao, whose successes had made him powerful, had seized upon the Island of Macao, from whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded so far as to lay siege to Canton. The neighbouring Mandarins had recourse to the Portuguese, who had ships in the harbour of Sancian; they hastened to the relief of Canton, raised the siege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate, whom they pursued as far as Macao, where he slew himself.

"The Emperor of China, informed of the service the Portuguese had rendered him on this occasion, bestowed Macao upon them, as a mark of his gratitude. They received this grant with joy, and built a town which became very flourishing, and was advantageously situated for the trade they soon after entered into with Japan.

"The author of *L'Idée Générale de la Chine,* published at Paris in 1780, adds to his account of this transaction (which agrees with the above) that the behaviour of the

Portuguese ambassador confirmed the Chinese in their aversion to foreigners,[1] against whom they had always shut their empire. And speaking of the Emperor's edict permitting the Portuguese to settle at Macao, he says, 'but the restrictions with which the Chinese accompanied this favour, and the manner of forming the settlement, as well as the shackles imposed on the liberty of the Portuguese, give to Macao rather the appearance of a place besieged than of a free commercial city'."[2]

The Viceroy of Canton has just lately expressed himself in cordial terms towards the Portuguese nation, and expressed the necessity of drawing still closer the relations between China and Portugal, which was the first of the European nations to possess commercial establishments in China.

The construction of a powerful, in fact to the Malays an impregnable fortress in the heart of their capital was a natural consequence of the Portuguese victory. The bird's-eye view of this fortress, which has been reproduced for this volume from Correa's invaluable *Lendas da India*, and the plan of the same, also reproduced for this volume from the equally precious manuscript of Pedro Barretto de Resende's *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* (by kind permission of the trustees of the British Museum), show sufficiently the imposing nature of this stronghold. Next in importance to the

[1] This author adds in a note—"Ammian Marcellin qui écrivoit dans le quatrième siècle de notre ère, parle de cet éloignement des Chinois pour les étrangers."

[2] Add. MS., 13,875, fo. 24: "Report of Embassies to China, presented to the British Museum by the Representatives of the Marquess Wellesley."

fortress were reconstructive measures of the victors, as for example the rearrangement of the currency upon a more scientific basis, and the repression of sedition with that iron hand, for which some historians and biographers have been so unnecessarily severe upon Afonso Dalboquerque. Before we condemn this prominent trait in the character of the Portuguese commander we must take into consideration the somewhat ungentle spirit of the age in which he lived, the brutalities practised by Asiatics upon such unfortunate Europeans as fell into their hands, and the absolute necessity that a comparatively small band of men were under to repress unsparingly any and every measure likely to injure their tenure of a territory so far from the natural basis of their operations. Viewed in this light, the execution of Utemutaraja, and the carrying out of the sentence passed upon Ruy Diaz, were measures calculated to procure the security of the whole body, rather than instances of supreme gratification of personal antipathy towards the sufferers.

The incidents of the dispatch of Duarte Fernandez to the court of Siam with specific instructions—an event which helped greatly to elevate the position of Portuguese politics in the east of Asia—the subsequent mission of Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo to the same country, the interchange of presents and friendly compliments, similar courtesies exchanged with the kings of Campar and Java, and the sending forth of a party to explore the Moluccas, then known as the Clove Islands or Mace-apple (*i.e.*, nutmeg) Islands, combine to elevate in a considerable degree the career

of Afonso Dalboquerque from that of a vulgar freebooter or licensed adventurer (as some will have him to be) to that of an earnest and scientific pioneer, anxious that his nation, his own followers, and himself also should—

"αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ἔξοχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων."

After detailing the arrangement made by Afonso Dalboquerque for the government of the newly-conquered territory, the author of the *Commentaries* introduces an interesting ORATION, delivered by the illustrious Roman orator, Camillo Portio, before Pope Leo X. This oration, although it introduces notices of some events beyond the scope of the *Commentaries*, is of value, as showing the way in which the Papal court, and probably all Christendom, viewed with admiration and emulation the marvellously rapid successes which had fallen to the arms of Portugal in her dealing with the infidel nations of the East.

The remaining portion of the present volume reverts to India and Goa, and the events which had transpired during the absence of Afonso Dalboquerque in the Malay expedition. Milrrhau or Merlao, the duly appointed Governor of Goa, was conducting the affairs of the city peaceably, when Pulatecão, in command of a force mustered by the Hidalcão, came down from the inland territory of that prince, and took up a strong position in Benastarim, or Benestarij,[1] a fortress on

[1] The variation in the orthography of this fortress is interesting, and shows the peculiar proclivity of the Portuguese language for a nasal sound at the termination of words. Many of the names of persons and places which occur in the text of the *Commentaries*,

the mainland due west of the Island of Goa; but in so disposing his forces he appears to have exceeded the instructions which he had received from the Hidalcão. This prince therefore appointed Roçalcão, called by some historians Rasul Khan, to supersede Pulatecão (or Fulad Khan), and by means of the Portuguese under Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos (who had been liberated by the people to succeed Rodrigo Rabelo as Captain of Goa, when that officer fell in a skirmish with the Turks, in preference to Francisco Pantoja, to whom the succession rightly belonged), Roçalcão got possession of the fortress of Benestarim, and immediately disconcerted the little garrison of Goa, by making a formal demand for the surrender of the city.

While these events were transpiring, Afonso Dalboquerque had set sail from Malaca in the *Flor de la Mar*, but suffered shipwreck off the dangerous coast of Sumatra, and only reached Cochim with great difficulty some time in the month of January 1512. This disaster was felt all the more keenly by the Viceroy because he afterwards learned that had he visited the Maldive Islands,[1] according to his original intentions during this voyage, he would have fallen in with Mafamede Maçari, the merchant of Cairo—an enemy with whom he was particularly anxious to measure

terminate in -ij, and it is probable that they were all pronounced with a nasal sound at the end of the word. Hence we find Pangim or Pangij, and Augim or Augij; just as in the ordinary language, *assi*, *perú*, *mui*, and other words have a nasal, not written, but always pronounced at the end.

[1] Pedro Barretto de Resende gives a plan of the Portuguese fortress on one of these islands.

his strength. This man was the chief upholder of the policy of bringing over the Rumes to assist the Çamorim in driving the Portuguese out of Malabar. He however feared that Afonso Dalboquerque would get him into his power, so he fled from Calicut (when the break in the blockade happened by the recall of Manuel de Lacerda to the assistance of Goa against Pulatecão) towards the Straits, but was caught in a storm and wrecked at the Cape of Guardafum, and thence made his way, carrying with him Simão Rangel (who had been captured on his voyage from Cochim to Goa) into slavery to Candaluz, in the Maldives, where he imagined himself safe, and out of the possibility of capture by the Portuguese cruisers, who had hitherto kept to more northerly latitudes.

The welcome arrival of the fleet with the great commander on board gave the signal for heartfelt rejoicing throughout the Portuguese settlements of India, and from January to August 1512, Afonso Dalboquerque busied himself with the expedition of necessary business which had no doubt accumulated in his absence during the past year. But fate had not ceased to "weave the crimson web of war" for Afonso Dalboquerque; the relief of Goa was the uppermost feeling in his heart, and he hailed with the greatest satisfaction and delight the arrival of two annual fleets sent out from the mother kingdom in 1511 and 1512 respectively, for the reinforcement of the Indian colonies. These fleets, the one commanded by Dom Garcia, or Gracia, de Noronha, his nephew; the other by Jorge de Mello Pereira and Gracia de Sousa, added no less

than seventeen ships of war, with their men and stores, to the sadly diminished number of serviceable vessels and fighting men at the disposal of the Viceroy. But the joy he experienced at receiving these welcome reinforcements was quickly dispelled by the orders sent out to him from the king of Portugal for discussing the question of retaining or abandoning the possession of Goa.

Afonso Dalboquerque very prudently abstained from mentioning this matter until he had re-established the liberty of the city by the operations which led to the recovery of the dominating fortress of Benastarim, for he doubtless felt that had he divulged the king's orders to his captains and officers before they had driven the Turks into the interior, the movements in aid of the besieged city and island would have been carried out without heartiness and spirit, or perhaps even neglected and refused. But when the fortress had yielded to the Portuguese, the spirits of the populace raised by the dispersion of the enemy, and the martial feelings of the army elated by the easy victory, then it was that the commander felt that a fitting opportunity at length had arrived when, although he could no longer with propriety withhold the contents of the Royal dispatch, the general consensus of opinion would lean towards that course which he so ardently desired to carry out.

The surrender of Benastarim was accomplished with practically little trouble, for Roçalcão seems to have been, after all, but half-hearted in the task of its defence. He appears, however, to have tried as far as

he could to shield the Portuguese renegade deserters from a fate which he probably knew only too well would overtake them if they fell into the power of their irate master; but the excuse which he made, that it was contrary to the law of his country and the principles of his religion[1] to give them up, availed nothing with Afonso Dalboquerque, whose ferocity (particularly if all that Castanheda and Correa state be true) towards the ill-fated wretches can hardly be paralleled with any other relation out of the whole range of history.

The settlement of Fernão Lopez, the ringleader of these renegades, upon the uninhabited Island of Saint Helena, is of great interest to the political geographer. Correa, whose phrases seem to indicate that he commiserated the unfortunate man, says of him: "Fernão Lopez[2] managed to get on board a Portuguese vessel homeward bound, for he had left his wife and children in Lisbon, but the ship stopped at the Island of St. Helena to take in water, and there this Fernão Lopez remained in hiding, and when he was found missing out of the ship the crew set out and searched for him, but they could not find him, so they left him a barrel of biscuit and some pieces of hung beef, and dried fish, and salt, and a fire and some old clothes, which

[1] See MS., Sloan. 1820, a closely written folio work, seventeenth or eighteenth century, in Portuguese, apparently unpublished, entitled "A Seita dos Indios Orientais, e principalmente dos Malavares", in eight books, treating of the history and mythology of the religious sects, manners, and customs, of the people inhabiting Malabar.

[2] See the extract on pp. 240-242 for the Portuguese text.

each one contributed; and when the vessel set sail, they left a letter for him, that in case of any ship putting in there he was to make signs to show whether he were alive or dead, and shew himself in order that they might supply him with whatever he required. Then the vessel set sail, and Fernão Lopez, seeing the ship had left, went out of the wood and took possession of the things which he found left for him, and kept up the fire so that it should not go out, and set to work to find stones which he beat one against another, and he saw that they struck fire and he kept them. Thus, with the four fingers of his left hand, and with the stump of his right hand which had been cut off, as God helped him in his great mercy, he dug a hollow in a bank wherein he made a small grotto, and enlarged it within, where he lived in retreat and used to sleep, and he filled up the mouth of the grotto with prickly bushes. He found tender herbs which were savoury to eat, and he boiled them with salt in two saucepans which they had left for him. And while he was living in this way during the next year a ship touched at the island, and when he saw the ship he hid himself.

"The crew of the ship, going on shore, when they saw the grotto and a straw bed whereon he slept, and the bags, and the staves of the barrel which had been left with biscuit for him, and the saucepans, and coals for the fire, were amazed, for they thought that some negroes were living there in hiding from another ship, but when they beheld the clothing they agreed that it was a Portuguese man. So they took in their water,

and did not meddle with anything, but, on the contrary, left him biscuits, and cheeses, and things to eat, and a letter bidding him not to hide himself, but when any ship should touch there he should speak with it, for no one would harm him. And the ship set sail, and, in spreading her sails, there fell overboard a cock, which the waves carried to the shore, and Fernão Lopez caught it and fed it upon some rice which they had left behind for him, so that the cock became on such loving terms with him that it followed him wherever he went, and at night it roosted with him in the hole. This cock remained with this man for many years, it would come at his call, for, as time went on, this man used to show himself and converse with the people of the ships which passed by, and all gave him things to plant and to sow, so that he cultivated a great many gourds, pomegranates, and palm trees, and kept ducks, hens, sows, and she-goats with young, all of which increased largely, and all became wild in the wood.

"This man lived for many years alone in this island, leading this remarkable life, and when it was related to the king he was very desirous of seeing him, for they said that he was like a wild man; therefore, the king sent word to beg him of his own accord to come to Portugal. This he did, and he went and secretly disembarked in the house of the captain of the ship, and thence went by night to converse with the king and the queen, who gave him a hermitage and houses of friars wherein he might remain; but he would accept nought of this, but obtained permission of the

king and went to Rome, and confessed himself to the Pope, who was pleased to see him, and gave him letters to the king that he would send him back again to the island. This likewise the king performed. This man stayed on this island for upwards of ten years without any one ever seeing him, for he used to hide himself.

"In this island there lived a fugitive Javanese youth, who also stayed with him many years. This youth was the one who revealed him to a ship which touched there. For the captain, Pero Gomez Teixeira, who had been Auditor-General in India, threatened the black man so much that he went and pointed out the place where Fernão Lopez was hidden. And when he found that he was taken he made loud outcries, thinking that they were going to take him on board. But Pero Gomez consoled him, and talked for a long time with him, and assured him that he would not carry him away, and gave him many things, although he did not care for them, but very earnestly besought him to take the youth with him in the ship. Pero Gomez, therefore, took him on receiving a promise from Fernão Lopez that he would not hide himself from the crews. And when this had been agreed to, Pero Gomez left with him a paper, signed and sealed, wherein he desired all captains who might touch there of their kindness not to use any force in desiring to carry him to Portugal against his will, for it was from fear of this that Fernão Lopez used in by-gone times to hide himself. Therefore, he gave him a safe-guard in the king's name, and swore to it, that no one

should carry him away from the island against his will. And then Fernão Lopez felt assured, so that he used no longer to hide himself, and spoke with all comers, and gave them of the produce of the island, which yielded in great abundance. And in the island he died, after living there for a long time, which was in the year 1546."

The blockade of Calicut, which was commenced anew by D. Garcia de Noronha; the mission of Diogo Fernandez, Adail of Goa, with the returning ambassador of the Hidalcão, to arrange the terms of peace; the dispatch of the Cambayan ambassador, in whose company Tristão Déga went to demand leave to erect a fortress in Diu; the dispatch of a messenger from Miliquiaz of Diú; the mission of Gaspar Chanoca to Narsinga; the reception of an ambassador with presents from the king of Vengapor, an inland territory bordering on the kingdom of the Zabaim; an interview of a fruitless nature with Roçalcão; and other similar business, naturally occupied Afonso Dalboquerque for some time after his return to Goa. But an event occurred about this period to which he devoted considerable interest, and attached great importance. This was the arrival of an envoy, named Mateus or Matthew, the brother of the Patriarch of Abyssinia, from the little known and mysterious kingdom of Prester John, with a present of a piece of the Wood of the True Cross from the Warden of the Franciscan Friars of Mount Sion, Jerusalem, to the king of Portugal, and an offer of alliance by marriage of the children

of the Prester John with the Royal Princes of the kingdom.

Afonso Dalboquerque forwarded this ambassador and his sacred present with great *éclat* to the king of Portugal, but in the eyes of many of the Portuguese Mateus was looked upon as an impostor whom the Viceroy favoured for his own glorification. The king treated him with honour, and sent him back in 1520 with D. Rodrigo de Lima, a Portuguese ambassador, but Mateus died on the way at Bisam,[1] on the 23rd of May, 1520, and D. Rodrigo prosecuted his journey, a relation of which,[2] by Father Francisco Alvarez, translated from the Portuguese and edited by the accomplished Portuguese scholar Lord Stanley of Alderley, is now being published by the Hakluyt Society. Students of Portuguese history, who are already under a debt of gratitude to the noble translator of Vasco da

[1] According to the work mentioned in the next note; but from the *Commentaries*, p. 254, he appears to have died at Maçua, or Massowah, an important city on the African side of the Red Sea; cf.

> ". . . . . e as melhores
> Povoações que a parte Africa tem,
> Maçua são, Arquico, e Suanquem."—*Cam. Lus.*, x, 97.

Mateus, the ambassador, appears to have been of an irritable disposition, and this was perhaps the cause of the dislike shewn to him by the Portuguese with whom he came into contact.

[2] The title of this rare book, a fine specimen of early Portuguese typography, is: "Ho Preste Joam das Indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam, segundo vio e escreveo ho padre Francisco Aluarez Capellã del Rey nosso senhor. Agora nouamẽte impresso por mandado do dito senhor em casa de Luis Rodriguez liureiro de sua alteza." The colophon states that the book was printed in 1540.

Gama from Correa's *Lendas da India*, will look forward to the appearance of this narrative of the Portuguese embassy to Abyssinia in 1520 with the greatest interest.

After making disposition for the projected fortress in Calicut, if the Çamorim should really grant the site —a fact which Afonso Dalboquerque seems to have despaired of at last—an assembly of the principal Portuguese personages was held, and the King's articles read. The debate which ensued resulted in the determination to hold Goa at all hazard; and the letter which Afonso Dalboquerque addressed to the King, a characteristic specimen of the fearlessness of the great commander,[1] concludes this volume.

The portrait of Dom Vasco da Gama, which is placed as a frontispiece to this volume, and that of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira, which is set to face page 254, are derived from the MS. of Pedro Barretto de Resende, in the Sloane Library of MSS. at the British Museum. They have been reproduced by the autotype process, with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, to whom the thanks of the Hakluyt Society are due for this favour.

The interesting plan of Malaca fortress and settlement comes from the same MS. The map of the

[1] The phrase, "*e não me tome cada anno conta do que faço como a Almoxarife*", in Afonso Dalboquerque's letter, seems clearly to point to a certain necessity on the part of those who have had to govern India for occasional use of large sums of money for secret political objects. The history of Warren Hastings and Lord Clive in later centuries afford examples of the disasters attendant upon this necessity.

Malay peninsula has been reproduced in a reduced form with great care from a chart contained in a most valuable Portolano executed by the Portuguese hydrographer, Diego Homem, in 1558. This MS. is preserved among the additional MSS. in the British Museum. (*Add. MSS.*, 5415 A.) For the permission to trace these, I desire to record my thanks to Mr. E. M. Thompson, F.S.A., keeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum. The bird's-eye view of Malaca has been reduced by photo-lithography from the frequently cited *Lendas da India*, a work of very great value for collation with other historical narratives of the Early History of Portuguese India.

CHRONOLOGY OF PART III.

PAGE		A.D.
1.	Afonso Dalboquerque assaults Goa . .	25 Nov. 1510
1.	[Sails for the Straits	. Feb. 1511]
207.	[Dom Garcia de Noronha sails with six ships from Portugal .	25 March and 8 April 1511]
101.	Afonso Dalboquerque assaults Malaca on St. James's Day	[25 July 1511]
207.	[Builds the fortress of Malaca . .	August 1511]
164.	Antonio Dabreu sails to explore the Moluccas	During November [1511]
195.	[Afonso Dalboquerque, shipwrecked on the voyage from Malaca to India, reaches Cochim	During January 1512]
195.	[Dom Garcia de Noronha reaches Moçambique	Beginning of February 1512]
208.	[Jorge de Mello Pereira sails with twelve ships from Portugal	. 25 March 1512]
208.	[João Chanoca sails for Portugal . .	13 July 1512]
207.	Arrival of the Fleets of D. Garcia D. Noronha, and Jorge de Mello at Cochim . .	20 Aug. 1512
210.	Afonso Dalboquerque sails from Cochim for Goa	10 Sept. 1512

208. [The Fortress of Calicut built by the Portuguese During the Year 1512]

255. Dom Garcia de Noronha blockades Calicut During Jan. [1513]

256. But rejoins Afonso Dalboquerque at Goa 10 Feb. [1513]

172. Oration of Camillo Portio before Leo X During Oct. 1513

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

WHO WAS

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE EAST INDIES

IN THE TIME OF THE VERY POWERFUL

KING D. MANUEL,

THE FIRST OF THIS NAME.

PART III.

LISBON:

IN THE ROYAL PRINTING OFFICE,

ANNO MDCCLXXIV;

With Licence of the Royal Board of Censors, and Royal Privilege.

TITLES

OF THE

CHAPTERS CONTAINED IN THIS THIRD PART.

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE PERFORMED IN THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF GOA FOR THE SECOND TIME, AND OF THE KINGDOM OF MALACA: AND ALL THE REST THAT HE DID UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE TO THE STRAITS.



Wyman & Sons, Photo-Litho   63 Queen St London, W.C.

CHART OF THE MALAY PENINSULA, &c, FROM THE PORTOLANO OF DIEGO HOMEM, A.D. 1558.

[*British Museum, Additional MS.* 5415 A, folio 19.]

PART III.

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE PERFORMED IN THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF GOA FOR THE SECOND TIME, AND OF THE KINGDOM OF MALACA: AND ALL THE REST THAT HE DID UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE TO THE STRAITS.

CHAPTER I.

How, after his fleet was ready, he set out for the harbour of Cananor: and what passed with the King of Garçopa and Timoja concerning the entry of the river of Goa.

When the interviews were concluded, which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held in Cochim with Gonçalo de Sequeira and the other captains, he set out towards Cananor, where he found ready the fleet and all the things which he required for his voyage. And without making any delay, he set sail with a fleet of twenty-three vessels, containing about two thousand Portuguese: and of them there were the Captains Manuel de Lacerda; Fernão Perez Dandrade; Simão Dandrade, his brother; Bastião de Miranda; Afonso Pessoa; Ruy de Brito Patalim; Diogo Fernandez de Béja; Jorge Nunez de Lião; Francisco Pereira Pestana; D. João de Lima; D. Jeronymo de Lima, his brother; Manuel da Cunha; Duarte de Melo; Pero Dafonseca; Gaspar de Paiva; Simão Martinez; Francisco Pantoja; Antonio de Matos; and Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos, who was going to Malaca; Dinis Cerniche, Balthezar da Silva, and

Pero Coresma, who were to accompany [Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos]. And so the whole fleet went along the coast and stood over against Onor to take in fresh supplies and water.[1]

As soon as the King of Garçopa and Timoja were informed of the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque at the port, they went to talk with him, and after the customary greetings were over, he asked them what news they had of Goa

[1] It is useful to compare with this list that of Gaspar Correa, who gives the following names of captains accompanying Afonso Dalboquerque against Goa :—

*Joam de Lima.
Jeronymo de Lima, his brother.
Manuel de Lacerda.
Fernam Peres d'Andrade.
Simão d'Andrade, his brother.
Diogo Fernandes de Béja.
*Manuel da Cunha.
Duarte de Mello.
Francisco de Tavora.
Vasco Fernandes Coutinho.
*Garcia de Sousa.
Gaspar Cão.
Lopo Vaz de Sampayo.
Ayres da Silva.
Dinis Fernandes de Mello.
Joam Serrano.
Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos.
Pero Coresma.
Baltesar da Silva.
Micer Vinete Cerniche [called Dinis Cerniche in the *Commentaries*].
Antonio Raposo.
*Simão Martins.
Gaspar de Paiva.
Francisco Pantoja.
*Bastiam de Miranda d'Azevedo.
Afonso Pessoa.
Jorge Martins de Lião [called Jorge Nunez de Lião in the *Commentaries*].

in twenty-eight ships, and 1,700 Portuguese. The names marked with asterisks are among those who gave an opinion at the council of war just before. Correa also mentions the following as being with Afonso Dalboquerque in the attack on Goa :—

Fernam Gomes de Lemos.
Nuno Vaz de Castello Branco.
*Jorge da Silveira.
Ruy de Brito.
Luis Coutinho, brother of Vasco Fernandez.
Simão d'Andrade, brother of Fernam Perez.
Gonzalo d'Almeida.
Simão Martins Henriquez.
Payo Rodriguez de Sousa.
Diogo Pirez de Miranda.
Duarte de Mello.
Alvaro Peçanha.
Luis Preto.
Pero Dafonsequa.
Antonio de Matos.
Antonio Diniz, and others.

Lord Stanley's *First Voyage of Magellan*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

and of the Hidalcão? They told him that there were in Goa three captains, who had about four thousand men in the garrison, all Turks, Rumes, and Coraçones,[1] with certain peons of Balagate, who were archers; and there were about an equal number of native Moors. And they declared that, if he had come with the intention of attacking the city, it was just at the very nick of time, for the Hidalcão was prosecuting a war with the Guazils of the Kingdom of Decan, who had wrested from him a great part of his lands, and he was now so far advanced into the interior of the country, that it was impossible for him to return and relieve Goa. They said, too, that they were ready with all their people, as they had already notified to him, to serve him by land in that expedition.

Afonso Dalboquerque received the promises they made, and thanked them heartily for them. But, although it seemed to him to be a doubtful thing to attack Goa, held as it was by so many forces and now become so much on the alert, as these persons had declared to him, nevertheless he made up his mind to blockade it with all his forces, and to attack the enemy; and with this determination he set sail with the whole of his fleet, and bore up for Anjadiva, where he remained for eleven days without forming any resolutions of future proceedings. For when he arrived there, he was advised not to place any reliance upon the promised offers of the King of Garçopa and of Timoja, because they were in fear lest things should not turn out well for them, and they did not wish to be in worse relations to the Hidalcão than they were already. And thus the great Afonso Dalboquerque, perplexed by all these doubts which were conveyed to him, set out from Anjadiva, and proceeded to cast anchor over against the bar of Goa, and ordered Manuel da Cunha, with six ships, to enter through Old Goa, and make his way to Agacij, and to the land of Saste, to co-operate with the army

[1] Inhabitants of the Khorassan.

of Timoja, who would have to approach by that direction. And Manuel da Cunha, as soon as he reached the pass of Benastarim and of Agacij, fired a gun and remained quietly in the river waiting for the army to arrive.

No sooner had Manuel da Cunha set forth, than Afonso Dalboquerque summoned the captains to his ship, and told them they were well aware of the promises made to them by the King of Garçopa and Timoja, but that he himself, from what he had heard in Anjadiva, and also because they had delayed in their journey, very much doubted if these people meant to keep their word. He therefore begged them to decide whether he should undertake this matter without counting very much on the support of the native army which had been offered, or whether they should first go to Cambaya and there settle the terms of peace. The captains listened to the arguments of Afonso Dalboquerque, and were all unanimously of opinion that he ought to attack Goa; for if that city were once taken, the King of Cambaya would consent, they said, to carry out all the conditions they might require of him; and what was more, he would not delay releasing the captives whom he had in his power. This advice appeared good to Afonso Dalboquerque, who sent immediately a message to Manuel da Cunha to return and rejoin the fleet. And, as soon as he arrived, all weighed anchor, and stood in up the river and reached a pass about as far from the city as a falconet would carry a shot, where the Turks had sunk three Malabar ships laden with stones, in order to impede any further passage of our vessels up the river. But this artifice, which the Turks thought to avail themselves of, turned out exactly the opposite of what they intended; for, instead of blocking the river, the force of the water that ran down was so great, that it opened two channels much deeper than the one which they had blocked up.

When Afonso Dalboquerque arrived at this spot, he

ordered the small vessels to go up through these new channels which the river had made, and told the captains to strain every nerve to reach the fortress as quickly as they could; and, as it was now late, there was not time for great vessels to make the passage. But, as soon as morning broke, Afonso Dalboquerque got into a boat, and proceeded to the station where the small vessels were at anchor, with all the rest of the fleet which followed him, and there he settled himself, and sent Duarte de Lemos, Gaspar de Paiva, and Diogo Fernandez de Béja, to man their skiffs and reconnoitre the condition of the fortress. These three got up in front of it, and examined it very closely, and reported to Afonso Dalboquerque that it was very strong, fortified with many trenches and bulwarks, and embrasures flush with the water,[1] with much artillery therein, and a very large ditch. So Afonso Dalboquerque, on receipt of this intelligence which the captains reported, and on consideration of the number of the forces within the city, came to the conclusion that it was a very perilous undertaking to attack it; yet, nevertheless, confiding in God to help him, he sent on in advance Bastião de Mirandá, Afonso Pessoa, and Ruy de Brito Patalim, to make their way with their galleys to the other side of the fortress; and as they were perceived they were plied with the artillery contained in it, but our Lord protected them, so that they sustained no injury. And, although all these things rendered the business of attacking the city more hazardous, yet, in order to be more completely informed on all points, he ordered Diogo Fernandez de Béja to seize by night upon some native interpreter; and by means of a Moor who was thus taken, he learned that the Turks had a great quantity of artillery both large and small, and many foot soldiers and cavalry, and many stores; and that Moors, the natives of the land, had promised the Hidalcão that they would all die in defending the city from the

[1] *Ao lume da agua*, "between wind and water".

entry of the Portuguese; and that the Turks, in addition to this promise which they had made, out of fear that if any troubles came upon them the Moors would rise up against them, had given orders that all the women and children of the principal persons of the land should be placed in the fortress.

CHAPTER II.

Of the council which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held with the captains concerning the attacking of the city, and the remainder of the events connected therewith.

For three days after the great Afonso Dalboquerque had acquired this information concerning the ready state of the city he remained without coming to any determination whether he should wait or not for the King of Garçopa and Timoja, from whom the only help he expected was that they would come and stir up the Hindoos against the Moors, and prevent their furnishing the latter with supplies or paying the duties for the land which they were bound to pay. And at this juncture, while he was thus delaying himself, without making up his mind what to do, the Turks made some very strong stockades of timber, filled in with earth, with their ditches full of water, along the banks, and in these they stationed many pieces of large artillery, and appointed a captain with his men to defend them.

But when Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the Turks, out of the excessive confidence they had in their fortress, were constructing stockades outside to ward off the attack upon their ships, and prevent their being burned, and were quite certain of the safety of everything else, he summoned the captains and all the *Fidalgos* and cavaliers of the fleet, and laid before them the opinion he had of these doings of

the Turks, and desired it to be debated whether they should first of all attack the stockades, or set themselves forthwith in battle array and storm the fortress. And when this had been discussed, at length every one agreed that the fortress should be attacked before the stockades; because, although it might be the stronger, it was there that they all desired to accomplish the wishes they had of taking vengeance of what had already befallen them. For after they had once taken the fortress, there was nothing more for them to do.

But Afonso Dalboquerque and Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos were not with them in this way of thinking, but rather considered that they should first destroy the stockades, and when these were overcome, they would get in [to the fortress] with the enemy pell-mell; and that this ought to be put into practice immediately, because all the rest of the time they spent there without doing anything was but weakening more and more their chances of succeeding in this matter; and in this opinion of Afonso Dalboquerque everyone concurred, but they agreed to wait three days longer for the King of Garçopa. For Afonso Dalboquerque told them that as they were clearly minded to attack the city, they had no time now to look for any other help beyond that of our Lord Jesus Christ, which would not fail them, seeing that they fought for his Holy Faith, which he for his part truly believed in; and that the detention of the King of Garçopa and Timoja had all been brought about by the Turks by the great force of bribes which they had given them not to come; and that Timoja was so artful that he was sure to keep up his dissembling and not arrive until after the fall of the city, for he saw very well that it was like to cost much blood in the taking; and therefore they ought not to lose time in waiting for his support.

And with this settlement of the matter he dismissed the captains to their ships to make ready for the next day, in the morning, when all were to proceed to attack the stock-

ades, and when they were once captured, the circumstances of the victory would point out how they should proceed. So he divided all his forces into three companies in order of battle; that is to say, Manuel da Cunha, Manuel de Lacerda, D. João de Lima, D. Jeronymo de Lima, his brother, Gaspar Paiva, Gaspar Cão, Fernão Feyo, Pero Dafonseca, and many others, into one company, which was to go and attack the stockades near the fortress. And in the second company he set Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos, Baltezar da Silva, Dinis Cerniche, Pero Coresma, who carried with him his son Jorge Coresma (who is now superintendent of the royal ovens), who, though he was but a child, gave a very good account of himself that day; and Ruy de Brito Patalim, and Jorge Nunez de Lião, with many other soldiers, to attack the stockades on the sides near the ships; while he himself, with the remainder of the forces and captains, would go and take the stockades in flank by a road which led from Mandovij by a branch upwards which he knew of, for if he went there he would be placed between the Moors and the city, and if he took their stockades in flank they could not fail to make great havoc among them.

And because there were in that road, which Afonso Dalboquerque determined to explore, certain palisadings of very strong timber, in order not to be delayed by anything when he should get there, he ordered Dinis Fernandez, the master of his ship, to go in advance in charge of thirty mariners to cut them down, and he was not to allow anyone to set fire to the ships which were on the beach, unless they were entirely discomfited in the endeavour to take the city. But, whereas the captains still adhered to their opinion, they returned again forthwith by night to talk with Afonso Dalboquerque, and laid before him many reasons why he should attack the fortress before the stockades; and he on his part unfolded to them many others, to

show where he disagreed from their conclusions. And there arose so many discussions on one side and the other about this, that Afonso Dalboquerque, in spite of his own opinion, and in order to content them, desisted from what he had arranged to do, and allowed himself to be convinced by their arguments. And when the Turks perceived this delay, for it was now seven days that our men had been there without doing anything, they began to grow audacious, and built some stockades still closer to our fleet, wherein they placed six large bombards, and began to fire them against us.

Afonso Dalboquerque was annoyed at the little account the Turks made of him, and with grave and opportune consideration, he sent word to the captains to make themselves ready, and on the following day, in the morning, to come on board his ship, for his intention was, in spite of all the discussions that had been held, to attack the stockades and fight the Turks, for he could not brook their vain-glorying; and each one was to fight in the place which had been marked out for him.

CHAPTER III.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque attacked the city of Goa, and took it by force of arms, when some of our side were killed; and of the great havoc that was made of the Moors.

And now that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had made all arrangements to attack the city, as I have said, on the following day, before morning broke, which was the day of St. Catharine,[1] the 25th day of the month of November,

[1] "Na luz, que sempre celebrada, e dina
Será de Egyptia Sancta Catharina."
CAM., *Lus.*, x, 43.

See Vol. I, Introd., p. i, for the context and Fanshaw's quaint translation.

of one thousand five hundred and ten, the captains, who were already prepared, arrived with all their men, and boarded the flag-ship; and they found Afonso Dalboquerque already gone on board his skiff, and a *parão* with a hundred and fifty soldiers waiting for them. And after a general confession had been made by all of them, they arranged themselves in three companies of attack, according to the instructions already promulgated, and proceeded against the city, for the day had now fully dawned; and, on their arrival, without any further consultation, they went on to attack the stockades, each company taking up the position that had been marked out for it.

The Turks, who were stationed therein, defended themselves for a long time, and prevented any entry of the enemy, and Afonso Dalboquerque, with the men he had in his company, on arriving at the palisades which Dinis Fernandez had already cut down, went up along the edge of the ridge at the double. The Turks, because they did not fear any attack from that side, as soon as they felt themselves harassed by people at their back, after making a long resistance, began to retire from the stockades. The captains, when they perceived that the enemy were beginning to become embarrassed with the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque, fell upon them so valiantly, carrying in their van the Apostle Sanctiago [Saint James the greater], who was going with them as their guide, that in a short space of time they got into the stockades, and with the enemy in flight made their way pell-mell as far as the gates of the city, without looking behind them, killing and maiming many Turks and Rumes, all of them of superior class, and many well attired in silken habits and brocades.

Manuel da Cunha, Manuel de Lacerda, Dom João de Lima, D. Jeronymo de Lima, his brother, and others in their company, which were in advance, on arriving at the gate, experienced great resistance from the Turks; but,

nevertheless, animated by the victory which our Lord pointed out to them, they entered into the city by force of arms, and behind them entered Dinis Fernandez, who had come up by this time with the men whom he had taken to cut down the palisades. And so all these being united together kept on pursuing the Moors as far as the gate of the fortress, and then they fought a great battle with them; so well fought indeed was it on one side and the other, that for a long space of time each side thought that it had gained the victory. The Turks, however, who were stationed within the fortress, came up at once on horse to succour their men, and so put our men to rout. But just at this moment there arrived Diogo Mendez and Jorge Nunes de Lião, with all the *Fidalgos* and men they had in their company, and found a great number of our men already wounded and put to great straits; but on their arrival, the new comers shouted out to them to fall again upon the Turks, and they would follow them up.

With this fresh relief our men fell upon the Moors on foot and on horseback, and one and all closed so desperately with them, that they routed them, and all together entered pell-mell through the gates of the fortress; some of our party being left behind already dead or wounded. Manuel de Lacerda, who was marching along wounded in his face by an arrow, just as he entered by the gate encountered a Turk upon a horse, and killed him, and mounted the horse, and performed a great feat in continuing to go on, for he had a piece of broken arrow fixed in his face, and all his armour was smirched in the blood which ran down from it. At this time Afonso Dalboquerque was making his way with his company at the back of our men, going at a quick march, in order to give succour whenever he should perceive they had need of it. But the Turks, when they became aware that they had been invaded by our men, who were following them up, collected together to the number of five

hundred, including a hundred mounted men with their own captain, and rallied and turned back, and fought with such vigour, that our soldiers tried hard for a long time without being able to make them yield.

When Afonso Dalboquerque was informed of the peril our men were in, he bore down to this spot at full speed, with all the soldiers in his company, to reinforce them, and on coming up to them, some among their company made such fierce havoc among the Turks with their lances, that they routed them, and killed many; among them being two chief captains out of three whom the Hidalcão had there. As soon as Manuel de Lacerda beheld Afonso Dalboquerque, he dismounted his charger and presented it to him. And when Afonso Dalboquerque saw him with his armour all smirched with blood, he embraced him, and said:—"Sir Manuel de Lacerda, I declare to you that I am greatly envious of you, and so would Alexander the Great have been, had he been here, for you look more gallant for an evening's rendezvous than Arelhano".[1] And when Afonso Dalboquerque mounted on the horse, all the captains took horses which the Turks had abandoned, and followed up after the enemy, and these, without making any further resistance, turned their backs and fled out of the gate of the fortress. And many others there, just wherever they chanced to be, threw themselves down from the walls, in order to shorten their journey.

As soon as the fortress had been abandoned, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders that the gates should be shut that led to the city, and a good watch kept over them, in order that our men should not follow the Moors, nor disband themselves to plunder. For he feared that as the enemy were very numerous, they would unite together, and bring

[1] The Emperor Aurelian, whose reign presents a succession of brilliant exploits which restored for a time their ancient lustre to the arms of Rome. In a war against the Sarmatians he was believed to have slain forty-eight of the enemy in one day.

about another catastrophe like that which befel the Portuguese at Calicut.[1] So he gave orders to all the captains to take up positions in the walls of the fortress; for he had made up his mind to fortify himself in it. The Turks indeed were so dismayed, that those who managed to escape from the fury of our soldiers made their way in flight over towards Benastarim, with the object of passing over from that place to the opposite side of the mainland. And they went on so excited by fear, that without waiting for any vessel of transport they swam across the river, and thereby many of them were drowned and many horses were lost.

The city had now been entered, and when Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the fortress was strongly fortified with artillery, and the embrasures covered with clay outside, in order to deceive our people if they attacked them, he offered up many thanks to our Lord for thus delivering them from the dangers which had been prepared against them, had they operated against the fortress, as the captains had thought they ought to have done. Out of our party, one hundred and fifty soldiers were wounded; and of the *Fidalgos* and captains, Manuel de Lacerda, who was the first who went in at the gate and the first who received any wounds (for thus I found it written), and Gaspar de Paiva, Manuel da Cunha, D. João de Lima, Gaspar Cão, Simão Dandrade, Dinis Fernandez, and all the rest who were in the advance guard. And seven were killed, of whom one was D. Jeronymo de Lima, who was mortally wounded at the entry of the gate of the fortress. And while he lay on the ground so severely struck that he could not survive, his brother, D. João de Lima, who was wheeling round with others, came upon him; and when he beheld him in such a condition, with his head leaning against the wall, he exclaimed, with many tears:—"What is this, brother? how art thou?" D. Jeronymo replied:—"I am on the point of

[1] See vol. II, p. xix.

finishing this journey; and I am glad, as it has pleased our Lord to require this service of me, that it has been completed here in his service and in that of the King of Portugal."

D. João de Lima desired to remain in company with him; but he said:—" Brother, there is no time for you to remain with me; go and perform what is required of you, I will remain here and finish my days, for I have no longer any strength left." So D. João de Lima left him, and went on, following after the Moors; and when the fortress had been captured and the Moors driven out, he returned to seek after his brother, and found him already dead. I should be very glad to have been either one of these two brothers; but I know not how to decide which one of the two I most envy,—whether D. João de Lima, because he went to fight where such another one as himself could be met with, or D. Jeronymo de Lima, who did not desire to remedy his wounds, although they were mortal (it being a very natural thing for men to desire to live), but rather sought to advance his brother's honour, and would not consent to his remaining behind with him at a time when the other *Fidalgos* and cavaliers were carrying on the fight with the Turks within the fortress. The decision of this I leave to those who read the lessons of this history; let them judge whether of these two brothers best performed his obligations.

They killed also André de Afonseca, Antonio Graces, and Alvaro Gomes, son of the *almoxarife*[1] of Alenquer, and others, whose names are not known. But they who died and they who remained alive so performed their task, not only in the attack on the city, but in all the other conflicts in which they found themselves this day engaged with the enemy, that it is worthy that they should be held in great remembrance; for, in thus gaining Goa, the possession of India became secured [to Portugal].

[1] *Almoxarife*, a receiver of customs or dues for commodities imported or exported. Arabic, *Al mochrif*, an inspector.—Engelmann.

Nor should anyone forget Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos and those of his company, for the alacrity and powerful efforts with which he relieved our soldiers, when a great number of them had already been wounded, contributed in a great measure towards the capture of the fortress. And, indeed, Afonso Dalboquerque was so very well aware of the powerful efforts and discretion of Diogo Mendez, that he often declared to him, when they were at variance respecting his voyage to Malaca :—"I abhor the life that I lead, Sir Diogo Mendez, for my tenure of the supreme office here has done you harm." Thus it was that if our soldiers, after the first capture of this city, were considered to have been ill-advised to evacuate it, in this second capture they recovered their *prestige* in returning to take it by force of arms, putting to death, besides many other natives of the city, two thousand men, whites, Turks, Rumes, and Coraçones, which produced, indeed, a terrible dread throughout all the land, on account of the great confidence that had hitherto been reposed in their invincibility.

CHAPTER IV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave the soldiers permission to sack the city: and, of the crucifix which was found in some old walls from which stone was taken for the fortress: and of the miracle which Our Lord performed for our side on the day of the battle.

Directly it was reported in Cochim that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had taken Goa, the captains who were there loading their ships to set out for Portugal, calling to mind how he had told them that before their departure they should have news of the taking of Goa, became very sad and full of shame, when they knew of it, because they had not been with him in that enterprise.

After having commanded the captains to take up their

positions and guard the fortress, Afonso Dalboquerque gave permission to the soldiers to sack the city, and free right to keep everything they took; but as for his own share, he cared for nothing more than the contentment derived for having been enabled to keep his word, which he had given to the Hidalcão when he was in Goa, as has already been related.

In the city were captured a hundred large guns *(bombardas)* and a large quantity of smaller artillery, and two hundred horses, and many supplies and munitions of war. All these were ordered to be delivered to the factor for the king. And after the city had been pillaged, Afonso Dalboquerque told the captains to reconnoitre the whole of the island and to put to the sword all the Moors, men, women, and children, that should be found, and to give no quarter to any one of them; for his determination was to leave no seed of this race throughout the whole of the island. And he did this, not only because it was necessary for the security of the land that there should be none but Hindoos within it, but also as a punishment for the treachery of which the Moors had been guilty when he took the city for the first time. And for four days continuously they poured out the blood of the Moors who were found therein; and it was ascertained that of men, women, and children, the number exceeded six thousand.

The Hindoos, also, for their part, by reason of the hatred in which they held the Turks, because they had been deprived there of the lands whereon they lived, as soon as they heard the news of the fall of Goa (the principal men, with their dependents, having fled up into the mountain country), descended, and cut off the Moors' retreat through the passes, as they were flying from the fury of the Portuguese. And when they had taken from them all they carried, they put them all to the sword, without saving any lives. Now, in the company of these Turks they killed one who was the

treasurer and paymaster of the Hidalcão's forces; and from him they took all the money he had. And Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that a certain mosque should be filled with some Moors whom the Hindoos had taken prisoners, and then set on fire, and in this body of people was a renegade Christian who deserted to the Hidalcão when Goa was taken for the first time.

As soon as the despoiling of the land had been accomplished, Afonso Dalboquerque turned his attention without delay to the fortifications of the city, and ordered that a great quantity of cement should be prepared, and all the sepulchres of the Moors thrown down, in order to obtain plenty of stone for the works, and to all the captains and *fidalgos* he appointed a regular turn of duty, and so made great haste to complete the work; for he was fearful of the arrival of the Hidalcão, and would not that he should find him in an unprepared state. And, as he hoped to establish in Goa the principal seat of the Governors of India, he so arranged the plan, that the palace of the Çabaio remained within the boundary, because the edifices of it were very nobly designed, a work of great beauty and finely built. And by reason of this great diligence, in a very short time he completed the fortress where it now stands, with its towers and ditches, with their breastworks, for the defence of the harbour and anchorage of the ships.

At this time some men were progressing with the destruction of some old walls, in order to get stones for the works of defence, when they discovered in the foundations[1] an image of the crucifix in copper. When the news of this ran through the city, Afonso Dalboquerque came down at once with all the people and clergy who were with him, and they carried the crucifix, with great devotion and many tears, to the church. Great wonder was there that then

[1] *Alicerces;* also found as *alicesse* and *alicece*, from the Arabic *al-aças*, the cement of a building.

seized upon all beholders; for within the memory of man there was no record of any Christians ever having been at that place, and they believed that our Lord had sent down that sign from Heaven, in order to shew that it was his will that the kingdom should belong to the King of Portugal and not to the Hidalcão, and that their mosques should become houses of prayer,[1] wherein his name should be worshipped. For whereas the city was very strongly garrisoned and provided with artillery and arms, and all other things necessary for its defence, our people had not been sufficient —being so few in number—to take it, had there not been within it this signal of the Cross whereon our Lord suffered, which called upon them as it were, and gave them the power to attack the city; had it not been also for the Apostle Sanctiago, who helped them, whereof the very Moors bore good testimony, to the effect that after the fall of the city they inquired of our men what manner of man was that captain with shining armour and a red cross, who marched with the Christians, striking and killing the Moors, for it was he alone that had taken their city from them.

And Afonso Dalboquerque, not only from the great devotion which he had for this saint, but because he was a knight of the order of the saint, did not forget this favour which he had received from him; and he sent to the convent of Palmela[2] a staff of the length of six palms and of the thickness of a lance,[3] all overlaid with gold, with inlaid work,[4] and the hand of the staff covered with pearls and

[1] Isaiah lvi, 7; Math. xxi, 13; Mark xi, 17; Luke xix, 46.

[2] Palmela, a town in Portugal, south of Lisbon, 38 deg. 34 min. N.; 8 deg. 57 min. W. Bluteau gives an interesting account of its history. The convent is the head of the Military Order of Santiago, and is kept by Brethren of the Rule of St. Augustine.

[3] *Arremeção.*

[4] *Lavrado de Tauxia*; *Tauxía* or *atuxía*, damaskeening or inlaying of one metal upon another; from the Arabic *at-tauchiya*, to colour, to render

rubies, and a penitential scourge of very large beads of gold, and a shell[1] of gold of good size, with many precious stones in it, placed upon a hat of crimson satin; and at his death he bequeathed to the Apostle Sanctiago of Galiza[2] a very large lampstand of silver, and a hundred thousand *reis*[3] in cash for oil.

When this news of the taking of Goa reached Cambaya, and it became known that Afonso Dalboquerque was fortifying himself therein, with intent to maintain his position, the king perceived that his own league was destroyed, and therefore ordered the liberation of the prisoners whom he had captured when D. Afonso Noronha, the nephew of Afonso Dalboquerque, had been taken prisoner, and also offered to give up Diu for the site of a Portuguese fortress; and from that time forward the king continually sent ambassadors to treat for peace. And Mirocem,[4] captain of the fleet of the Grand Sultan, who was in Cambaya (with some of the forces that had escaped from the rout inflicted upon them by the Viceroy[5]), where he was awaiting the relief for which he had sent to Cairo, in order to refit his forces at Goa, no sooner learned that Goa was taken (and that, too, with great havoc among the Turks), than he gave up all hopes of bringing his mission to a fortunate termination, and obtained permission from the King of Cambaya to go to Judá,[6] where he remained for some days, and from that port set out for Suez by sea in a shallop,[7] where he found

beautiful; in Portuguese the word has the more limited meaning given above.

1 *Vieira.* This word gives the name to a large number of Portuguese families. Among others who have borne it, is the author of the well-known Portuguese Grammar and Portuguese-English Dictionaries.

2 Gallicia.

3 About £20 16s. 8d. of English money,—a large sum in those days.

4 See vol. i, p. 222; vol. ii, p. 112.

5 At Diu. See vol. ii, pp. 112, 113, note.—*Lusiada*, x, 34-36.

6 Djeddah. See vol. i, p. 234.

7 *Gelua.* See *jelua*, vol. i, p. 226, note.

the fleet in progress of preparation. And when Mirocem thus arrived at Cairo to impart this news of the taking of Goa to the Sultan, orders were given to stop the building of the fleet, and no more trouble was taken about it. The ambassador of the King of Cambaya was thereupon despatched with orders to report that on the completion of the fortress, Afonso Dalboquerque would come and visit the king and arrange the terms of peace. And because Afonso Dalboquerque was desirous of sounding the wishes of the Hidalcão relative to an alliance, he wrote the following letter to him, with certain grandiloquent ideas[1] involved in it; for, as long as he governed India, he always availed himself, first of one thing, then of another, in his intercourse with the kings.

LETTER WHICH THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE WROTE TO THE HIDALCAO AS SOON AS GOA HAD BEEN TAKEN.

"Very honourable and good Cavalier Milohau! the great Afonso Dalboquerque, Captain-General of India and of the Kingdom and Lordship of Ormuz and of the Kingdom and Lordship of Goa, for the very high and very powerful D. Manuel, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, on this side and on that of the sea, in Africa Lord of Guiné, and of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of India, I send you my greeting. You must well know how the Çabayo, your father, used to take the ships of Malabar out of the ports and harbours of the King my Lord; wherefore it was that I was constrained to go against Goa, and take the city, and there it is that I am occupied in building a very strong fortress. I wish most sincerely that your father had been living, that he might know me to be a man of my word: out of regard for him, I shall be ever your friend, and I will assist you

[1] *Rebolarias*, an uncommon word, probably derived from *rebolar*, to roll about.

against the King of Decan, and against your enemies; and I will cause all the horses[1] that arrive here to be carried to your stations and your marts, in order that you may have possession of them. Fain would I that the Merchants of your land would come with white stuffs and all manner of merchandize to this port, and take to yours in exchange merchandize of the sea and of the land, and horses, and I will give them a safe conduct. If you wish for my friendship, let your messengers come to me with your communications, and I will send you others on my part, who shall convey to you my communications: if you will perform this which I write unto you, by my aid shall you be able to gain possession of much land, and become a great Lord among the Moors. Be desirous of performing this, for thus it shall be well with you, and you shall have great power; and for all that the Çabayo, your father, be dead, I will be your father, and bring you up like a son. Let your messenger bring back immediately to me a reply, and let the merchants of the land come under safe-conduct to Goa; and as for the Merchants who bring merchandize and come under your letters of safe conduct, signed by your hand, I will be responsible for their safety."

CHAPTER V.

How the Nequibares sent to request a safe conduct from Afonso Dalboquerque, in order that they might come and live at Goa; and how our forces put to rout Meliqueaye, the captain of the Hidalcão.

When the Nequibares, who were stationed on the mainland, perceived that the great Afonso Dalboquerque was establishing himself firmly in Goa, they sent to desire a safe

[1] The horse trade was a great source of employment and revenue on the Indian coast.—See vol. ii, pp. 76, 77, 107, 111; see also Col. Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, pp. 84, 88, 324, 333, etc., and Index; 2nd edition.

conduct from him in order that they might come over with all their people and live in the city. These Nequibares were the principal men and captains of the people. Now, whereas Afonso Dalboquerque was anxious of gathering together into the city all the native Hindoos of the land, he was very glad of the offers of these Nequibares, for he was in hopes that they would help him in the construction of the fortress, so he sent them the safe conduct which they had desired him to give; and when they arrived in Goa he gave them houses and possessions according to each one's station of life on the mainland. And after he had sent messengers to this effect to the Nequibares, news reached him that Meliqueaye,[1] captain of the Hidalcão, had arrived with a large body of men at Condal, and at Bandá, with the intention of forcing an entrance into the island of Goa. And although Afonso Dalboquerque was fully occupied in the work upon the fortress, because he felt so strongly the necessity of finishing it as quickly as he could, nevertheless he could not endure that a captain of the Hidalcão should come and besiege the lands of Goa while he was in the island; he therefore lost no time in despatching Diogo Fernandez de Béja to sail into the River of Bandá, and dispute the passage with Meliqueaye in the lands of Antuge and Saste. And with him he sent also, as captains of the vessels, Aires Pereira, Antonio Dabrea, Gaspar Cão, and Antonio de Matos, with two hundred men.

Diogo Fernandez, as soon as he was ready, set out with his people, and reached Bandá, and went up the river, and without any further consideration disembarked immediately. When Meliqueaye perceived that our men had disembarked, he proceeded to attack them, relying upon the numerous bodies of Turks who were under his command, and Diogo Fernandez waited for them with great bravery, and plied

[1] The first part of this name is *Melek*, Lord. See vol. ii, pp. 85, 86, for names similarly formed.

the enemy so fiercely with lances, that the Turks, disconcerted by the determined resistance with which our people awaited them on foot, took to their horses and retreated in so disorderly a manner, that many threw themselves down over the ravines and there ended their days.

With this victory, Diogo Fernandez returned to Goa, and related to Afonso Dalboquerque all that had taken place, and declared how Meliqueaye was making his way in the direction of Divarij, in order to cross over into the island [of Goa] in that direction. With this news of the intentions of Meliqueaye, which Diogo Fernandez brought him, Afonso Dalboquerque forthwith dispatched Gaspar de Pavia to proceed to guard that pass, and in company with him there went Afonso Pessoa, Martim Guedez, Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, and many others. Meliqueaye, finding himself discomfited by the inability of his people, withdrew with the shattered remains of his forces, and made his way to essay the entrance to the island by the pass of Divarij. But, on arriving there, although he went carelessly, with the idea that he would not find anyone there to resist him, inasmuch as he was by nature very proud, nevertheless he made up his mind to lay siege to the stockades which Gaspar de Paiva had by that time constructed, and drew up his forces, both infantry and cavalry, in battle array, with himself in the front rank, and made his way to attack them.

But Gaspar de Paiva, who had already received notice of the approach of Meliqueaye, awaited the attack with great readiness, and at the first encounter his matchlockmen slew some of the mounted Turks; and these, according to their custom, used to ride fastened into their saddles with straps, so that the horses, having no longer any riders to govern them, ran among their own people and threw them into disorder. As soon as Gaspar de Paiva observed that the Turks were thrown into confusion, he sallied out of his trenches and lost no time in falling upon the enemy, and routed

them, and followed up after them for a good space. Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, although at that time he was but a lad of eighteen years of age, encountered a Turk on a horse, and taking him by the reins, raised up his caparison and stabbed him with a sword; and when the horse fell down dead, he fell upon the Turk, and cut off his head, and thus at that day of the fight shewed himself to be a son worthy of his sire, a descendant worthy of his ancestors.

When the affair was thus terminated, Gaspar de Paiva withdrew to his stockade, and Meliqueaye, finding himself sorely pressed by our men on both sides, no longer ventured to attack them, but withdrew with his men two leagues away into the interior country, to a place which is called Diocalij, and there he pitched his camp, making some very strong stockades of wood for its defence, in case he should be attacked there. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that Meliqueaye was thus put to rout and it was probable, in case of his being attacked at once, that this chief might easily fall into his hands, he proceeded himself to seek for him, in the place where the camp was pitched, with one thousand Portuguese, and two thousand natives commanded by their own captains, and passed over to the mainland in the galleys and boats. And as soon as the force had disembarked, Afonso Dalboquerque divided it into four battalions, and stationed them in certain passes, about the distance from the edge of the sea of a shot from a matchlock, and there he arranged an ambush, and ordered the captains of the Hindoos to take their soldiers and run to the enemy's camp, and in case any Turks should issue out after them, they were to retreat in the direction of the place where he had placed the ambush.

The captains of the Hindoos, as soon as they came in sight of the camp, found Meliqueaye outside the stockades, drawn up on a lofty hill with his army, like a man who was well aware of the trap laid for him by Afonso Dalboquerque.

But as he was a good captain, and well versed in the art of war, he remained perfectly quiet, and would not attack the Hindoos. So when the captains observed that Meliqueaye did not care to meddle with them, they withdrew to the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was waiting (for he had given them the order to do so in this case), and related to him the position of the affair as they had found it. And Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving thus that Meliqueaye had become aware of his plan, proceeded to the Island of Divarij, and therein he left Rodrigo Rabelo and Manuel de Lacerda, with soldiers, and then he went on to the city.

After the lapse of a few days, Meliqueaye, who found himself not sufficiently strong to be able to resist our people if they were to desire to invade him, sent a messenger to Afonso Dalboquerque desiring peace with him. But Afonso Dalboquerque demanded of the messenger whether Meliqueaye held a permission from the Hidalcão to enter into negotiations for peace or not. The messenger replied that the only message he carried was from Meliqueaye, who was a captain of the Hidalcão, and could not enter into peace without the permission of the Hidalcão. Afonso Dalboquerque therefore dispatched the messenger back without any reply, for it appeared to him when he reflected upon the disorganised proceedings of Meliqueaye, that his stay there could not be in accordance with the wishes of the Hidalcão.

CHAPTER VI.

How Merlao eame to Goa, and the Nequibares desired Afonso Dalboquerque to give him to them for their governor, and what took place thereupon; and how he ordered Diogo Fernandez de Béja to destroy the fortress of Çacotorá.

For some days past, a messenger from the King of Onor had been staying in Goa, seeking to conclude an alliance

with the great Afonso Dalboquerque ; for this king had usurped the kingdom and ejected from it Merlao, to whom it belonged by right of being the elder brother; and therefore the king was very much in fear that Afonso Dalboquerque would favour Merlao in opposition to him, in consequence of the undertaking which he had given to the Portuguese to help them in their first enterprise against Goa. As soon as Merlao (who at this period was in Baticalá with the king, his uncle, in possession of soldiers on foot and horse, with the intention of setting out to recover his kingdom if he could) became aware that his brother was negotiating with Afonso Dalboquerque, in order to benefit himself by such an alliance, he sent a messenger with letters informing Afonso Dalboquerque of the position in which the matter stood, and telling him how his brother had risen up against him, and deprived him of the kingdom by force, begging Afonso Dalboquerque to help him with his alliance, and stipulating that he would serve the King of Portugal in all that might be commanded of him. And Afonso Dalboquerque accepted his offers, not only because his fame was great as a brave cavalier, but also because he was a captain whom the Hindoos held in great esteem. And this he did with the intention of conferring upon him the government of the lands of Goa; for he had been brought up there, and had always made war upon the Turks, and on two occasions, when he had been besieged by them, with his Hindoos alone he had defended the city like a very valiant cavalier; and with this determination, because it seemed to him to be very conducive to the service of the King Dom Manuel to re-establish Merlao and shew him favours, Afonso Dalboquerque sent to Baticalá the galleys for him, with some vessels for the transport of his men and horses. And he also sent two Portuguese captains, with two thousand Hindoo soldiers, to go by land and receive him at Cintácora, carrying letters to the Tana-

dares[1] and people of the lands of Goa, ordering them to receive him and obey him as they would Afonso Dalboquerque himself. And all these people did so with great delight, by reason of the estimation in which they held him, for they were desirous of being governed by him.

The brother, who was in Onor, being informed that Merlao had come to Cintácora to embark, immediately sent some of his people to Caribal and Ancola (two places which lie in front of Cintácora, on the opposite side of the river, where the Kingdom of Goa is divided from that of Onor), to labour to prevent his passage, promising them great rewards if they captured him; for he was alarmed lest Afonso Dalboquerque should assist him in his attempt to cast him out of the kingdom. But, notwithstanding all these endeavours which his brother made, Merlao conducted himself with such skill, that he passed over without any conflict with the soldiers of his brother, and reached Goa (taking with him a captain of the King of Narsinga, who was called Icarao, who for days past had been in his company, in discord with the king), where he was received with great pleasure by Afonso Dalboquerque, who ordered that he should be lodged in the principal houses of the city, and instructed the factor to supply him with everything he or his people should require.

The Nequibares were so delighted at the arrival of Merlao, that it was not many days before they went to Afonso Dalboquerque [and begged him] to give him to them as their governor, for all the people desired him. And Afonso Dalboquerque was very glad at this proceeding on their part, because this was the principal reason why he had extended his assistance to him; so he told the Nequibares that for his own part he was glad of it, and he would talk with Merlao and then give them a reply. And, on the following day, in the morning, Afonso Dalboquerque caused

[1] See vol. ii, p. 125, note.

Merlao to be summoned before him, and told him that he was desirous of letting him hold the lands of Goa at a yearly rental, and of giving him the government of them, provided that he would pay every year to the King Dom Manuel, his Lord, or to his governors of India, forty thousand *pardaos*,[1] in four payments, just as the people had to pay, in addition to a payment for three months, which the land still owed to the Hidalcão; for they had to be demanded on the part of the King, his Lord. Merlao was very well pleased.

And when the agreements which were made about this matter had been drawn and signed, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned before him the Nequibares and all the principal men of the Hindoos, and took Merlao by the hand before them, and told them that he gave him to them to be their governor, for he knew how much they desired to have him, and how well they would be treated by him; and they received Merlao with great pleasure and much festivity and blowing of horns, in accordance with their customs. And, in two or three days' time, Merlao set out, and crossed over to the mainland, taking with him five thousand peons and fifty horsemen, and commenced at once to farm his *Tanadarias*.[2]

Now, seeing that the fortress of Goa was already in so advanced a state that it would withstand all the power of the Hidalcão, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Diogo Fernandez de Béja, as chief captain of three ships, to dismantle the fortress of Çacotorá (as the King D. Manuel so often had ordered to be done), and he gave him a set of instructions how he was to act in this business, and there he was to remain until the fifteenth day of the month of May, for he

[1] For the value of the *pardao*, see vol. ii, p. 95. Forty thousand *pardaos* is somewhat more than £3000.

[2] *Tanadaria* is rendered by Vieyra *Cabeça de Comarca*, the principal city or town of a *Comarca* or district; in this passage the word appears to apply to the office or appointment of a *Tanadar*.

might be enabled to come to him, if the affairs of India permitted it, as late as this; but if it were to fall out that Afonso Dalboquerque could not be with him by that time, then Diogo Fernandez de Béja was to proceed to Ormuz, with his letters and powers which he carried, in order to receive the tribute, for Cogeatar had sent word to say that he was willing to pay it; and when this had been done, he was to make his way in the month of August by the route to India, and unite with the fleet of Manuel de Lacerda, who was to remain as chief captain of the sea while he himself (Afonso Dalboquerque) sailed away from India, and the two united were to cruise off that coast, for so, if Goa fell into any trouble, they could succour the city; and in order that Diogo Fernandez might be the better entertained by Cogeatar, Afonso Dalboquerque gave permission to all the ships of Ormuz that were in Goa to carry spices, and gave them a safe conduct to be enabled to pass, giving them to understand that they were to come back direct to Goa with the horses they were to bring with them.

And because Afonso Dalboquerque was in certain respects impeded and prevented from carrying out his intended expedition in this direction, Diogo Fernandez de Béja, after he had destroyed the fortress of Çacotorá, and the appointed period of time had elapsed, made his way to Ormuz, and received the tribute, and from that port set sail for India, and found Goa besieged by the forces of the Hidalcão, as will be related hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the ambassadors whom the Çamorim, after the fall of Goa, sent to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, desiring peace with him ; and how Simão Rangel was sent upon this business, and what passed concerning it.

Whereas the Çamorim had been informed that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had captured Goa, and was fortifying himself in the city with the intention of retaining possession of it,—no longer relying upon the league which had been made between himself and the Hidalcão with the object of ejecting the Portuguese from India; and whereas, too, he was aware that the King of Cambaya, another member of the league, had sent back to Afonso Dalboquerque the Portuguese who had been prisoners in his territory; he ordered his ambassadors to repair to Afonso Dalboquerque, and they set out from Calicut in a *parão,* and in a few days reached Goa. And when they had arrived they sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that they had come to his Lordship with an embassy from the Çamorim, and begged him of his kindness that he would grant them a hearing.

So in order to give a greater air of importance to this business, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Francisco Pantoja, chief alcaide of the fortress, to proceed to the ambassadors and bring them ; while he himself waited in the hall of reception with all the captains and *Fidalgos,* and received them with great expressions of delight and demonstrations of being well pleased with their friendship.

The ambassadors, after shewing him the accustomed courtesy according to their manner, told him that the Çamorim, their Lord, had sent word by them to inform him how happy he would be if he could have been able to converse with him, so that he could shew him the pleasure he felt in the capture of Goa by the Portuguese; and that in conse-

quence of his desire of friendship with the King of Portugal he had sent to make him an offer of all his estate, if it would please him, and a site in the kingdom for the construction of a fortress, for thus would his friendship be more truly manifested; and begged that a person of great confidence might be sent to him to arrange this matter on a proper footing.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied to them that he accepted those offers of alliance made by the Çamorim in the name of the King of Portugal, his Lord, and on these conditions he himself would serve the Çamorim with all his fleets and soldiers that were stationed in India, whenever it were required, and that he would send without delay, in their company, a servant of the King, his Lord, to treat of that matter of theirs that had been proposed. And whereas for some time Afonso Dalboquerque had been desirous of setting foot in Calicut and constructing there a fortress with peace and friendship (seeing that he never could get the better of the Çamorim in the war which he had carried on against him), when three or four days had passed after Afonso Dalboquerque had related to the captains all this business, and all of them had arrived at the conclusion that it would be very conducive to the service of the King of Portugal that a fortress should be constructed in Calicut, he dispatched the ambassadors and shewed them every attention in the name of the King; and in company with them he sent Simão Rangel, servant of the King, in a *fusta*, with written instructions concerning the way he was to proceed.

As soon as Simão Rangel arrived at Calicut, he went on board the *caravela* of Simão Afonso which was riding at anchor in the harbour, and there he awaited the answer of the King, for Afonso Dalboquerque had so commanded him to act. When the ambassadors had come before their king, they related to him how Afonso Dalboquerque was in Goa with great strength of soldiery, and how he was fortifying him-

self in that city, and how the Portuguese had discomfited a captain of the Hidalcão, who had come down upon the lands of Goa; and that Afonso Dalboquerque had sent in their company a servant of the King of Portugal to ratify the terms of peace.

The Çamorim, knowing that Simão Rangel was on board the *caravela*, and was not likely to come on shore, commanded the governors of the city to commune with him, and they had many conversations relative to the terms of the peace, without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion; for the king was willing only to grant a fortress in Chale, whereas Afonso Dalboquerque ordered in his written instructions that he was not to accept any site unless it were in the harbour of Calicut in front of the king's own landing-stage.[1] And it turned out that, after all, they came to no agreement, for the king would not grant any site for a fortress in his own land; but only wanted to keep the matter open with dissimulations, to the end that, at this same season, the Moorish merchants might dispatch their ships, which they had laden, for the Straits; but this they could not do as long as the *caravelas* of the Portuguese fleet were lying there at anchor in the harbour.

When Simão Rangel perceived the object of these delays, and that it was all owing to the bad temper and dissimulation of the king, he ceased to communicate with the governors, and went on board the *fusta*, and shaped his course for Goa, where he arrived and gave an account to Afonso Dalboquerque of what had taken place, and related the dilatory way in which the Çamorim had carried on the negotiations with him. And he declared, too, that in his own opinion the king would never, of his own will, grant permission to erect a fortress in any site in his land, for all that he might offer them a site in Chale.

But, inasmuch as Afonso Dalboquerque was by this time

[1] Or jetty, *Cerame*; see vol. i, p. 115.

ready with his fleet to sail away and cruise off the straits [of the Red Sea]—which projected expedition he afterwards abandoned for the voyage to Malaca, as will be related further on—he left this matter open and in the position it now stood, until his return from Malaca, and desired Manuel de Lacerda, who was under orders, to remain as Chief Captain of the Fleet on that coast [of India] to continue ever cruising off the harbour of Calicut, and to harass it in every possible way, and prevent any ships from getting out.

But while Afonso Dalboquerque was away at Malaca, the Turks came down to besiege Goa, and thereby Manuel de Lacerda was compelled to quit the coast of Calicut and proceed to the assistance of Goa. And at this very time the Moors had an opportunity of dispatching their ships, laden with spiceries, to the Straits: and these, when they were so far advanced as the Island of Çacotorá, between the Cape of Guardafum and Magadoxo,[1] encountered a storm so fierce that it wrecked two of them, and the others were wrecked in that gulf; and Mafamede Maçari,[2] who was sailing in that company reached the Maldive Islands.[3]

When the Moorish merchants, who lived in Calicut, perceived that their trade navigation was thus cut off, they departed with their wares, some to Cairo, others to Cambaya, others to Ormuz and to other parts, in such wise that very few who were not natives of that place were left remaining in Calicut, and these used to come from Çufim,[4]

[1] On the coast of Somali, in Africa.

[2] Mafamede Maçari, evidently a corrupted form of the name Muhammed.........

[3] In the Indian Ocean, 5 deg. N. lat., 73 deg. 30 min. E. long.

[4] Çufim, also called by the Portuguese Azafie, and by the natives Asfi, is evidently Safie, on the coast of Barbary, 32 deg. 17 min. N., 9 deg. 8 min. W. There is a valuable account of this great city in *Le Grand Dictionnaire Géographique* of M. Bruzen de la Martiniere. Paris, folio, 1768.

from Ourão[1] from Tremecim,[2] and from Tripoli,[3] with their wares, to Cairo, and from Cairo they used to make their way to Judá, and from Judá to Calicut, with ready money, and there they used to build new ships, and load them with spiceries, and so returned to their own lands.

On one occasion, Afonso Dalboquerque enquired of a Moor of these people who had been taken in one of their ships which had come from the Straits, how it was that they ventured to come from so far off to trade in Calicut, seeing that it stood between two of our fortresses, and that they were obliged to pass over the very place where our fleets were stationed. The Moor replied that the profits were so great that they would run all risks to get there; for, for every *cruzado* laid out in Calicut, they used to make twelve or thirteen in Judá and in all the places that stood within the mouth of the Straits; and he stated it was in consequence of this profit being so great, and the trade in pepper being so extensive, that the Moors who were established in Calicut laboured to prevent the Çamorim from granting permission to the Portuguese to erect a fortress in his territory, for if this were granted to them the merchants would be left without any trade navigation to the Straits.

[1] Ourão, now Oran, on the north coast of Africa. See vol. i, p. 120.

[2] Tremecim, also called Tremecem, Telemicen, Telmsen, Tlemecen, or Tlemcen, and anciently Timisi, a town fifty miles S. W. of Oran, 34 deg. 52 min. N., 1 deg. 18 min. W. See K. Johnston's *Dictionary of Geography*; Ritter's *Geographisch-Statistisch Lexicon*, by A. Stark, Leipzig, 1865; and M. Bruzen de la Martiniere's work quoted above, where there is an interesting notice of the site.

[3] Tripoli, on the north coast of Africa.

[4] Jidda. See vol. i, p. 234.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the King of Narsinga sent his ambassadors to visit Afonso Dalboquerque concerning the capture of Goa; and of the news which Fr. Luiz communicated to him, and what passed thereafter.

After that the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent Fr. Luiz to Narsinga,—following the disaster of Calicut (as I have already related),—he never received any news of how things had fared with him in respect to the instructions which he carried with him; but when Goa had been taken for the second time, as soon as the news reached Narsinga the king immediately ordered his ambassadors to pay a visit to Afonso Dalboquerque, and by means of them Fr. Luiz wrote to him, relating the manner of his arrival at Narsinga, and stating that, in other letters which he had written he had described how he had been well received by all except the king; and, on this occasion, he desired to inform Afonso Dalboquerque that the King of Narsinga was getting himself ready with five thousand men on foot and two thousand on horse, for an expedition against one of his vassals who had risen up in rebellion and seized the city of Pergundá,[1] (the rebel) declaring that to himself belonged the kingdom itself by right; and that directly he had taken the rebel the king would proceed with all this force of men to his places situated on the edge of the sea, and he (Fr. Luiz), for his part, could not understand the drift of this, but as Goa was so close by he would advise Afonso Dalboquerque to keep up friendly communications with the king, and by no means to place any reliance upon the King of Garçopa, nor upon Timoja, for they were men of such bad dispositions that they had even written to the King of Narsinga that, if he wished to regain possession of Goa,—for it had

[1] Pergundá, perhaps Purkundi, in the Bengal Presidency, 30 deg. 28 min. N., 79 deg. 4 min. E.

anciently belonged to the ancestors of the king—he must send them both infantry, and cavalry, and elephants, and then they would deliver the city over to him before the Portuguese could fortify their position therein. And, he went on to say, that he had received trustworthy news that the Hidalcão had set forth with a large force to attack the city of Calbergate,[1] the Guazil of which was an Abyssinian eunuch, a servant of the King of Decam,[2] by name Melique Distur,[3] and, as it could not withstand the siege, after two months it had surrendered upon certain conditions; and there had risen up against the Hidalcão four of the principal Guazils of the kingdom (for the Hidalcão carried back with him the King of Decam a prisoner, deprived of all his command), who had gone up against him with a numerons force in hopes of destroying him; and when these Guazils arrived at a certain watercourse which they could not pass they let themselves rest and there remained; but the Hidalcão, out of fear of them, had sent for the soldiers who were on duty in guarding the lands of Goa.

And Fr. Luiz went on to declare that there had also arrived news to the King of Narsinga that the principal Hindoos of the city of Bilgão[4] (as soon as they had heard of the capture of Goa and fortification of it by the Portuguese) had broken out into rebellion against the Hidalcão, and had cast the Moors out of the city, and put themselves under the command of the king [of Narsinga], for this city had

[1] *Kulburga*, *Golburga*, or *Caiberga*, in the Nizam's dominions, Bengal Presidency, 17 deg. 20 min. N., 76 deg. 52 min. E. The latter part of the name, according to the Portuguese rendering, may be intended to signify *Ghaut*.

[2] The Deccan.

[3] This is manifestly the Portuguese rendering of *Melek Distur*. The first word has been frequently explained before. The word *distur* is of Persian origin, and is used both in the Persian and Arabic languages to signify a *minister*; here, however, it appears rather as a proper name than as a title.

[4] *Belgáon*, *Belgaum*, or *Belganw*, in the Bombay Presidency, 15 deg. 50 min. N., 74 deg. 31 min. E.

formerly belonged to him, but the Hidalcão had taken it from him.

Bilgão is a very large city, and there is in it a very large fort, and it is a pass and principal port from the kingdom of Decam to Goa. There is a very extensive mountain range which overlooks the lands of Goa, just as the range of Algarve [in Portugal] looks over the plain of Ourique, and when this range has been crossed the kingdom of Decam lies all along flat table-land, like the same plain. And because the principal reason why the old Çabayo had obtained possession of Goa was that he had captured this fortress by treachery of the Hindoos who used to hold it, Afonso Dalboquerque used to say very often, when he found himself annoyed by the recalcitration of the Hidalcão, that if the king D. Manuel desired to keep the kingdom of Goa safe, he ought by all means to try all in his power to take this fortress, for by holding it he would secure all the estate he had there. And as for the nogotiations which his instructions ordered him to carry out, he had presented them many times without getting any answer to the purpose, but always had been put off; but at last he had told him, that he was very much disconcerted at the orders for attacking him, and he might build a fortress in Batacalá, for he said that he was very desirous of his friendship at the very time that he knew that it had been entered into with the Hidalcão, but that did not agree with the offers that he had made to help him in taking the kingdom of Decam, which had been his of old. And when these interviews with the king were over, the king sent for the governor of the city, and blamed him very much for desiring this alliance with the Hidalcão. And that King of Garçopa had written him a letter by virtue of which he could take him and destroy him if he liked, but as they were now very friendly, he had not done so; but that if this were done for money, which he had promised to give him every year, the Hidalcão would show

towards them that true faith which his father had shown towards the King of Narsinga when he took him in battle, but released him on his promise to serve him for ever.

At the receipt of this intelligence, which Fray Luiz wrote of matters which had passed with the King of Narsinga, and with his governor, Afonso Dalboquerque became somewhat in suspense when he saw that he was withdrawing from that which he had so often declared, namely, to help him against the Hidalcão. But as he knew how this came about, he dissembled with him, and wrote to Fray Luiz by the same ambassador who had brought him the letter, to take his leave of the king with as much dissimulation as he could, and return immediately; and he put himself in communication with the Hidalcão, declaring that he desired friendship with him. For, in order that the affairs of India should progress satisfactorily, as was convenient to the King of Portugal, Afonso Dalboquerque always laboured to make each one of these lords understand that he desired to have peace and friendship and the trade in horses with him, which was what they claimed; for, whereas he held the key of their position at Goa, he desired by means of this artifice to sow dissensions among them.

After he had written to the Hidalcão, he sent off to the ambassadors of the King of Narsinga, sending word by them that a year ago he had sent certain conditions to him through Fray Luiz, but as he had not yet received any reply to them, he could not come to any conclusion with regard to the messages that had been sent. The ambassadors set out, and when they arrived at Bisnaga, they found Fray Luiz was dead, for a Turk had killed him, and it was reported that the Hidalcão had ordered his murder; and they delivered the message which they brought from Afonso Dalboquerque to the king, and told him that while at Goa they had discovered that he was communicating with the Hidalcão. So alarmed was the King of Narsinga at hearing of this alliance, for he

knew that the Hidalcão had the horses which was the principal strength of his army, that he immediately sent back the two ambassadors to the great Afonso Dalboquerque with very full powers to conclude a treaty of friendship, and to arrange the terms of the trade in horses.

CHAPTER IX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set in order certain matters in the city, and established a Mint there, and of what followed.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque was so desirous that Goa should return to the state of trade which it had always enjoyed when under the rule of the Çabayo, that so soon as the fortress was on the point of completion he dispatched several captains along the coast with orders to compel all the ships they met with to go into port at Goa, and this he did for two reasons. The first was, that he might benefit the harbour and re-people the city to its former number of population; and that the caravans of Narsinga and of the kingdom of the Decam, with their merchandise, might come to Goa in search of horses as they used of old to come (for the horses of this region are much esteemed and fetch a great price, because, apart from the need of them for military purposes, the captains and principal lords are in the habit of carrying their wives about on horses). The other reason was, that he might ruin the harbour of Baticalá, which had become very noble through the horse-trade and the quantity of merchandise which flowed into it from Ormuz. For he considered that if the horse-trade were established in Goa, there would always be in the city from four to five hundred horses belonging to the merchants which he could make use of in case of urgency. And in consequence of the diligence which Afonso Dalboquerque set about this matter, and because he had ordered that houses in the city

should be given to the principal merchants for the better arrangement of their merchandise, merchant ships began immediately to flock from many quarters to the harbour of Goa, some coming from Ormuz with horses. And with a view to improving this state of business, he gave orders for the construction of some great stables, and organised a service of three hundred peons of the district, whose duty it was to transport grass, hay, and supplies for horses. And with the object of providing return cargoes for the merchants, so that they should not be compelled to seek a cargo in any other port, he commanded the Factor and officials to take care always to have in the Factory pepper, cloves, and ginger, and all the other kinds of merchandise which the merchants were likely to require, and in the clearing papers which they delivered with the cargoes whenever the merchants desired to set sail, it was to be set forth that the ships were to be bound for Ormuz and to no other port, for it was Afonso Dalboquerque's desire to destroy the commerce of the Straits.

In consequence of the liberty which the Moors had of loading their ships with spices at Goa, all the merchants came there to settle their trade. And in one of these ships which brought horses Cogeamir[1] was found, to whom Afonso Dalboquerque, on the occasion of his taking Goa for the first time, had given two ships laden with merchandise to make the voyage to Ormuz. This man was now bringing back horses in exchange for his merchandise, and when he arrived at India and learned that the Moors of Goa had risen up against Afonso Dalboquerque, and had driven him out of the city, he had made his way to Dabul and gone to make a present of the horses to the Hidalcão. But when Afonso Dalboquerque was informed that this man was arrived, he ordered his people to arrest him because of the treachery he had been guilty of, and with him

[1] See vol. ii, p. 110.

was taken also one of his sons, and they were put in chains, and all their goods seized, among them being twenty-five horses, which were forthwith put into the Factory.

After having arranged all these matters, Afonso Dalboquerque established a chief office wherein could be coined money of silver, gold, and copper, of the same standard which had been settled with the people and the merchants of the city when Goa was captured for the first time.[1] And with this end in view, he commanded that all the Moorish money should be brought to the Mint and be stamped with the dies of the King of Portugal, and he gave to these coins the same names that they had, as has been declared already.[2] This Mint was farmed out to a Chetim[3] from Baticalá, at the rent of six hundred thousand *reis*;[4] and Alvaro Godinho, a married householder of Goa, was appointed Treasurer of the Mint, and all the other offices were filled up with chief men who were married, with a view to encouraging the people to marry and people the land.[5] For, already at this time there were in Goa about four hundred and fifty married men, all servants of the King, and of the Queen, and of the Lords of Portugal: and those who desired to marry were so numerous, that Afonso Dalboquerque could hardly grant their requests, for he did not give permission except for the men of proved character to marry. But in order to favour this work, as it was entirely of his own idea, and also because they were men of good character, and had deserved by their good services that this privilege should be granted to them, he extended the permission to marry far beyond the powers which had been assigned by the king D. Manuel, for the women with whom they married were the daughters of the principal men of the land.

And he granted this favour, among other reasons, in

[1] See vol. ii, p. 128.

[2] See vol. ii, pp. 129, 130.

[3] See vol. ii, p. 130, note 2.

[4] About £125.

[5] See vol. ii, p. 99.

order that when the Hindoos observed what he did for their daughters, and nieces, and sisters, they might with better willingness turn Christians; and for this reason he would not suffer any of the women to be enslaved, but ordered that they should all be taken away from the masters who had possession of them; and he divided among all the married ones, the lands, houses, and cattle, and everything else that there was, to give them a start in life; and if the women whom he thus gave in marriage asked for the houses which had been in possession of their fathers or their husbands, he ordered that these should be so given, and therein they found many jewels and gold-pieces which had been hidden underground and abandoned when the city was captured. And as for the landed property which, according to information he obtained, had been in possession of the Moorish mosques and the Hindoo pagodas, he gave them all to the principal church of the city, which he dedicated to the protection of *Sancta Catherina*, on whose feast-day Our Lord had given him the victory over that city.[1] But in this matter of giving permission for marriages, Afonso Dalboquerque experienced much opposition, for there were many who disapproved of his thus maintaining Goa. The chief opponents in this were Lourenço Moreno, the Factor of Cochim, and Antonio Real, Chief *Alcaide*, and Gaspar Pereira, and Diogo Pereira, who, not content with meeting together and taking counsel upon this business, even went so far as to write to the king D. Manuel, setting forth their arguments how that the king ought to give orders for its prevention. And the principal reason they gave, was that it created many expenses, for they thought that if it were shown to entail loss of state property the king would be stirred to more rapid action in this matter.

And Afonso Dalboquerque appointed as captain of the fortress Rodrigo Rabelo, who was a very brave cavalier;

[1] See vol. i, Introduction, p. i.

and Francisco Pantoja, chief *Alcaide;* and Francisco Corvinel, a Florentine by birth, factor. The scriveners of the Factory were João Teixeira, son of João Paçanha of Alenquer (who accompanied Afonso Dalboquerque in the first capture of Goa), and Vicente da Costa (son of Master Afonso who had been chief physician to king D. Manuel), married in Goa. And he laid down rules for the inhabitants of the city, with regard to the appointment of judges, municipal officers,[1] and superintendent of weights and measures,[2] every year.

And when all these things have been thus ordained (as well as others which I omit, to avoid seeming unnecessarily long), the great Afonso Dalboquerque began to make his fleet ready, with the intention of not passing the winter in Goa, because of the dearth of supplies therein, and because there was not enough money to pay his men. And he determined to set forth in that direction where he could be of most service to the king. And he left four hundred soldiers to guard the fortress of Goa, and a great quantity of artillery, both large and small, gunpowder, saltpetre, and sulphur, and a machine in working-order for making as much as might be required, and eighty mounted men, married and settled in Goa. Duarte de Mello was appointed chief captain of the sea, with four ships and three galleys, under orders to cruise along the coast and provide the city with whatever was required; and when Manuel de Lacerda should arrive, whom Afonso Dalboquerque would leave to be chief captain of a fleet in Cochim, with all his powers, then Duarte de Mello was to obey him as if he were Dalboquerque himself. And for payment of all these people and fleets, he assigned the twelve thousand *cruzados* which Merlao had undertaken to pay for the rent of the island.

[1] *Vereadores.*

[2] *Almotaceis:* there is an older form, *almoçabel; al-mohtasib*, Arab.

CHAPTER X.

Of the proceedings of the Bendará, Governor of Malaca, when he heard that Goa had been taken, and of the news which Ruy de Araujo who was in captivity there, wrote to the great Afonso Dalboquerque.

Inasmuch as Goa was very much renowned in all the parts and kingdoms of India, the news soon spread through the merchants of Calicut, informing all the kings how the great Afonso Dalboquerque had taken the city and driven the Turks out of it. When this news reached Malaca, the Bendará who governed the kingdom for the king his nephew, fearing lest Afonso Dalboquerque should determine to come to Malaca and exact vengeance for the treason and spoliation which had been practised upon the Portuguese,[1]—with his accustomed dissimulation and subtlety,—lost no time in providing his city with quantities of supplies, and went to Ruy de Araujo and the other captives who had been put into a house and very badly treated, and told them, without saying anything about the current state of affairs in India, that the tumult which had arisen against the Portuguese had not been brought about by his design nor by his orders, but that the Guzerates and Jaos had planned it without his knowledge, because they were afraid that the Portuguese would treat them badly whenever they went out of their port, and he further declared that it was his intention to punish these people severely, because he desired very much to be on friendly terms with the Portuguese, and to see them carrying on a trade with Malaca.

When this interview was at an end, the Bendará gave orders to take the prisoners into a house outside the city, which was not so dismal as the one they had occupied. When Ninachatu, a Hindoo resident of Malaca, who had

[1] See vol. ii, pp. 73, 74.

frequently performed many good services to our people during their captivity, heard this news of the taking of Goa, he made his way to the Bendará, and told him that if Goa had been taken by the Portuguese—as the report went—he was afraid that the Governor of India would desire to come to the land [of Malaca] to take vengeance for what had been done therein to the Captain of the King of Portugal; and therefore it was his opinion that it would be advisable to order the liberation of Ruy de Araujo and his companions, and to treat them very kindly, for it might even be that a time might come when they would be glad to use these men for mediation. This advice, which Ninachatu gave, pleased the Bendará, and he gave orders for the release of the Portuguese, and gave them a house wherein they might live, and ten thousand *calains*[1] worth of Cambayan stuffs, of that which had been taken from the fleet of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira,[2] to trade with, and support themselves from their profits, for this was the custom of the king with his slaves; and it was signified to them that this property was assigned to them for their support, but when the Portuguese ships should arrive, then their accounts should be settled, and all the loss that they had sustained there should be made good. This time-serving[3] policy, which the Bendará used in his dealings with Ruy de Araujo and his companions, was not only the result of the entreaties of Ninachatu, but also because there was a junk ready to set sail for India, and he wanted the news to be taken there by it how well he was treating the Portuguese whom he had captured; and so said some Moors, who were his friends, to Ruy de Araujo. But they said also that as soon as the junk had set sail, all that the Bendará had granted to them would be taken away again, and they would be again cast into prison, and even if the Bendará did not do so it would be solely out of fear

[1] *Calains.* The word *Calaim* signifies a very fine kind of Indian copper.

[2] See vol. ii, page 74.

[3] *Viztude.*

of what he had heard of the progress of Afonso Dalboquerque.

When Ruy de Araujo came to know this, he determined to send word to Afonso Dalboquerque of all that had taken place in Malaca, and arranged his plans with a Moor who was named Abedalla,[1] and through him he wrote that he would have Afonso Dalboquerque to know there were nineteen Portuguese alive, and the Bendará had tried many times to force them to turn Moors, and did many cruel things to them on this account, and behaved very cruelly to them on this account. But the Bendará was in a great dread, lest he (Afonso Dalboquerque) should make his way to Malaca, for he was not liked by any of the kings whose territory was contiguous to his own, and all were obliged to oppose him because he was a great tyrant and practised constant robberies upon the merchants who had any intercourse with that port. And if he (Afonso Dalboquerque) should make up his mind to go to Malaca, then it ought only to be with the greatest fleet possible, to the end that the sea and land both should obey him when they beheld the great power of the King of Portugal in those regions; and if any junk should be captured in their passage for Malaca, no cruelty ought to be done to the people taken in them, only they should be kept captive, and on arriving at the port he ought to send some of them on land with orders to convey to the Bendará the message that he (Afonso Dalboquerque) was not minded to make war upon Malaca nor to take any of her possessions, provided that the king would make a treaty of peace and friendship with him, and deliver up the Christians, and put himself under the orders of the King of Portugal; for the Bendará had determined, directly he should be informed of the arrival of our fleet on the coast, to send all the captains off immediately four leagues' distance up into the interior country, until terms

[1] Cf. Abedalá, vol. i, p. 121.

could be arranged, for he was afraid that if they remained on the spot they would give Afonso Dalboquerque intelligence of many events. But as for past events, after that day of his misfortunes, and of the departure of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira from that port, he would not write too minutely, for all was overwhelmed by the bad treatment they had received from the Bendará in their captivity up to the present day. It was true, indeed, that the Bendará had thought good to give them a home in which they were all living, and ten thousand *calains*[1] worth of merchandise, whereof they were to support themselves by the profits, declaring that he was ready, on his part, to make good to them all the loss they had received when Afonso Dalboquerque, on his part, should reimburse him for the loss, on the other hand, which he had experienced from the attacks made by Portuguese ships on his junks; and declaring, too, that he had punished the Guzerates and Jaos who had been guilty of treason, in such a manner that henceforth they would never again dare to do so, for (said the Bendará), he was very desirous of the friendship of the King of Portugal, and wished to become his vassal. And (Ruy de Araujo continued) as for these things and many more of which he did not write, as he did not take any notice of them, the Bendará every day made a thousand excuses; but he himself, and all his fellow captains with him, begged him (Afonso Dalboquerque), for the love of God, to keep them in remembrance, and rescue them out of this captivity, and to cause to be given to the Moor, the bearer of the letter, twenty *cruzados* out of his effects, for he had lent it to the captives to buy food, and to show him kindness; for, besides his always helping them and accompanying them, he had consented, with very little persuasion, to undertake the journey, seeing that he ran a very great risk of his life if he had been discovered, but he trusted in the kindness

[1] See p. 45.

which Afonso Dalboquerque would shew him for it; and that Ninachatu took the opportunity to beg him, of his great kindness, that he would not let the Moors of Cochim know what he had done for the captives in Malaca, for he feared lest they should write to the Bendará and do him an injury for it; for it was Ninachatu who had given the captives an opportunity of writing, and of despatching the Moor with the letter; but if it were so disposed that his Lordship, Afonso Dalboquerque, could not possibly get to Malaca by any reasonable manner, then that he would send them word of it as secretly as he could, before the Moors could get intelligence of the impossibility of his going, for he trusted that Our Lord would grant them a means of going from that to some other place safe and free to make their way back again to India.

CHAPTER XI.

How the Captains of the Fleet of Diogo Mendez requested him to set out for Malaca; and of what passed with them, and how he begged Afonso Dalboquerque to grant him permission to go; and of the reasons wherefore it was not granted.

The captains of the fleet of Diogo Mendes, seeing that the fortress of Goa was quite finished, and the affairs of the city continuing to become more and more in order, and being desirous of performing their voyage, went to him and declared to him that their ships were those of merchants who had struck a contract with the king D. Manuel, to go to Malaca, and take in a cargo, and that up to that present time there had always been some excuse for the delay of their setting sail because the monsoon had not yet come; but now that they were having this wind, and the business of Goa was finished, in which, indeed, all had served the king very well, they ought to proceed.

Diogo Mendes replied to them that he liked their advice very much, but it was necessary to give an account of the proposed starting to Afonso Dalboquerque, not only as a compliment, but in order that the opportunity might be taken to get him to supply the ships with some things which were necessary for that voyage, and they had given their fealty to him, and could not sail out of that port with his licence.[1] Dinis Cerniche, like a foreigner, and one who had more regard for his profit than for his honour, replied that those compliments might be dispensed with, for in the contract which the merchants made with the king he had therein given them exemption from the jurisdiction of Afonso Dalboquerque and all other governors of India. But inasmuch as Diogo Mendez was an experienced man, although in this matter he erred in what he did by advice of the captains, masters, and pilots of his fleet, dismissing from his mind the arguments advanced by Dinis Cerniche, he went to Afonso Dalboquerque and told him that while they were in Cananor he, Afonso Dalboquerque, had said that on the completion of the Goa undertaking, and on arrival of the time of the monsoon, permission should be accorded for his departure to Malaca, and he would give him everything that he required for his voyage; and that as Our Lord had given him the city thus gained with so much honours for himself, and he, Diogo Mendez, was no longer required there, therefore he begged him very much of his kindness to dispatch him, and give him licence to set forth, for when he looked into the conditions whereby the merchants had contracted with the king, he found he could not put any hindrance in the way of their performing their voyage, but on the other hand his captains would murder him if he did not go; and they made every day formal requisitions to him that they might set out, but he did not wish to do so without Afonso Dalboquerque's consent.

[1] See vol. ii, pp. 232, 233.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied that it was true he had promised at Cananor to dispatch him directly the business of Goa was completed; but when he had made that promise he was not aware of the condition in which the affairs of Malaca were, and that it was but a few days since he had received a letter from Ruy de Araujo, giving him an account of the state of that country, and declaring that in case he had to navigate to those parts it must be with so powerful a fleet that everything should yield to it; and when he considered this, and saw in how difficult a position the affairs of Malaca were placed,[1] he must beg him of his kindness not to be desirous of risking his vessels and the people he had brought with him, for should any disaster happen to them both would have to bear the blame, since it was plain, from what had happened to Diogo Lopez de Sequeira,[2] that they could not open up any commerce with Malaca except by exchange of lance-thrusts,[3] and this could not be effected by four rotten ships and two rusty swords. And there were two reasons why he could not help him with his soldiers and his fleet:—the first, because affairs at Goa were, as he could see for himself, in so delicate a condition; the second, that there was news of the coming of the Rumes, which had set the whole of India in an uproar; but when these disturbances were over he promised he would help him, as he had already promised. After many conversations with Afonso Dalboquerque, who was determined not to grant him permission to go, Diogo Mendez took leave of him discontented, and when he arrived at his ship the captains came on board to hear what had taken place, except Baltezar da Silva, who remained behind ill at Cananor. Diogo Mendez gave them an account of what had been said by Afonso

[1] *Os negocios de Malaca estarem de má desistão.* The latter word is equivalent to *digestão*, and the phrase signifies "of a hard, indigestible, untractable character".

[2] See vol. ii, pp. 31, 73, 74.

[3] *A troco de lançadas.* There is here a play on the word *troco*, which also signifies "exchange" in a commercial sense.

Dalboquerque, and with this reply all came to the determination of setting out without making any further demand for permission to do so.

CHAPTER XII.

How Diogo Mendez, by the advice of his captains, hoisted sail to pass over the bar, and the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent after him, and they made him turn back, and the rest which took place.

Now inasmuch as the captains were ill pleased because the great Afonso Dalboquerque had denied them the permission to depart which Diogo Mendez had begged of him, and as they held firm to their opinion that he could neither demand their submission to his orders nor could they profess it to him, because they had come out under exemption from the orders of the Governor of India, they therefore determined to set their sails and shape their course in a straight line for Malaca. And because they had some misgiving about sailing out over the bar at night, Manuel Pirez, who held the office of pilot and captain of Baltezar da Silva's ship, declared that he could lead all the vessels out over the bar, even if it were at midnight, and could take them to Malacca, and return to Portugal without touching at India at all on the return journey.

At this declaration made by Manuel Pirez, immediately on the fall of night all set their sails except Pero Coresma, who was not in this plot and kept quietly aloof. Now Manuel Pirez, whose vessel could sail very well on a bowline, found no difficulty in sailing at once right over the bar, but the others kept on tacking until the morning broke. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque was informed that Diogo Mendez had gone off, he immediately sent after him Duarte da Silva and James Teixeira in two galleys, and Manuel de Lacerda along the shore with a party of mounted men, to

make their way to the bar and take up and get into any boats that might be there, and force him to stop; and he gave instructions both to one party and the other, that in case the fugitives would not give heed to this, their command, then they were to sink them all.

On coming up with Diogo Mendez, James Teixeira required him, on behalf of Afonso Dalboquerque, to return, but the former, who was still fully resolved to go, would not yield when called upon to do so. So when James Teixeira perceived that he would not pay any attention to the commands of Afonso Dalboquerque, he called out to Martim Afonso, who was the pilot of the fugitive vessel, to give orders for taking in their sails, but he replied that only if Diogo Mendez, who was properly his chief captain, should order him to do so would he do it. So perceiving that neither by fair nor by foul means could he prevail upon Diogo Mendez to return, he aimed a shot at him, high up over the rigging, and then ordered another shot to be fired; but at this juncture there arrived Duarte da Silva in the other galley, and fired a shot at the fugitive ship and struck her on the halliards, and down fell the main yard all at once.

When Diogo Mendez perceived that his mainsail was disabled, he signalled to the others to take in their sails, and he let go his anchor. As soon as Manuel Pirez saw that the flagship of this fleet had struck her sails, he came up alongside of her and asked Diogo Mendez for further instructions; and he replied that all he could do was to shorten sail, and then they must all go back and pay the penalty for what they had done, in accordance with the advice given by him and the other captains. And while the matter was in this state Pero Dalpoem, Auditor of India, came up in a *parâo*, and when Manuel de Lacerda saw him he proceeded to unite with him, and they took Diogo Mendez and all the other captains, pilots, and masters, and carried them back as prisoners to the city.

Afonso Dalboquerque, who had already received intelligence of the progress of the affair by a messenger, whom Manuel de Lacerda had despatched by land, caused Diogo Mendez to be brought into his presence, and told him that he was exceedingly astonished to think that he should thus break the word of honour which he had given, and disobey his captain-general before all the ambassadors of the kings and lords of India, who were in that place, by the advice of four lunatics[1] in his fleet, when it had been already decided that it was not advantageous to the service of the king that he should be permitted to go to Malaca. And Diogo Mendez replied that he had done this, not with the intention of acting disobediently towards him, but because his honour had compelled him to do as he had done, for he, being a man accustomed to very great deeds, had been sent out, like an ordinary esquire, with two boats to reinforce the Island of Chorão,[2] upon which the Turks had made a descent.

Afonso Dalboquerque told him that that was not a valid excuse, for no honourable man who was a cavalier like himself would think of feeling dishonoured at being ordered to fight for the service of his king, and he reminded him that he had despatched on that same expedition to Chorão Manuel de Lacerda, the chief captain of the king's fleet, with other boats, and he had not thought it any affront to be engaged in it. And, he continued, this affair was very serious, and of such a character that he should not be performing his duty if he failed to visit it with its just punishment, which he for his part intended to carry out to the full; and there and then he sent him under arrest to the keep of the castle.[3] And as for the other captains, pilots, and masters, he

[1] *Sandeos.*

[2] One of the many islands that lie near that of Goa, and make up the Goa territory.

[3] *A torre de menagem.* See vol. i, p. 45.

ordered them to be put into chains, and in solitary confinement, and gave orders to Pero Dalpoem to draw up, as briefly and quickly as he might, a formal account of this affair, for there were in Goa at that time ambassadors of the king of Narsinga and of other kings of India, who had witnessed the disobedience which had been shown to Afonso Dalboquerque; and he did not wish that they should depart without first of all observing the punishment which he should visit upon them in consequence.

And when the final inquiry had been made, and all was drawn up, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that all the captains should be summoned; and, having taken notice of the charges brought against them by the Auditor, it was adjudged that Diogo Mendez be sent back in disgrace to Portugal, to appear and answer to the acts of accusation for his misdeeds in person before the king D. Manuel, and Pero Coresma was also to be sent back in disgrace to Portugal, although he was not in the plot, because he did not divulge the intended flight of Diogo Mendez; and Dinis Cerniche was condemned to be put to death by decapitation, and Martim Afonso, chief pilot, and Manuel Pirez, pilot and captain of the ship of Baltezar da Silva, and Diogo Fernandez, master of Dinis Cerniche's ship, all three to be imprisoned in their ships, of which they were but lately masters and pilots; and these sentences upon them were carried out forthwith that very day; and when Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the execution of Dinis Cerniche to be carried out, the ambassadors of the King of Narsinga came and begged him to forgive him, which he did, commuting this punishment into transportation to Portugal in disgrace, there to answer in person the formal charges of misdeeds brought against him.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail for the Straits of Méca with his fleet, and finding he could not cross the shoals of Padua, stood off Goa and made his way direct to Malaca.

Although the king D. Manuel had very often written to the great Afonso Dalboquerque to go up the Straits of the Red Sea and erect a fortress in Adem, the affairs of Goa occupied so much of his time and thoughts that he never yet had any opportunity before now of taking this enterprise in hand. And although the letter which Ruy de Araujo wrote concerning the state of affairs at Malaca had greatly embarrassed him in his proceedings (as has already been related), nevertheless, trusting to the mercy of God, he made up his mind to proceed to the Straits and accomplish the desires of the king D. Manuel; and having his fleet ready with men, supplies, arms, artillery, and everything else that was required for the undertaking of this enterprise (leaving Goa in good order), he set out, but when he had made his course so far forward as the shoals of Padua,[1] and found that he could not get beyond them because the season was now so far advanced, he put back again into harbour, and came to an anchor with all his fleet over against the bar of Goa, and after having dropped anchor, he ordered Rodrigo Rabelo, captain of the city, to be summoned, and told him that on account of the adverse state of the weather, and because the monsoon of the Straits and Ormuz was already gone by, and there was no longer any opportunity of navigating to those parts, it was his intention to go and winter at Malaca and see if he could in any way chastise the Malays for the treason which they had practised upon Diogo Lopez de Sequeira; therefore he

[1] See the B[aixos] de Padua, 13 deg. N. lat., on Fernão Vaz Dourado's Map of India, vol. ii, p. 1.

greatly commended to him the charge of taking care of the city, for the city was always the uppermost thought of his heart,[1] dreading lest the Hidalcão should attack it again; and from that port he went on to Cananor, and leaving the fortress provided with more men than it had, he set out again for Cochim.

As soon as the king learned that Afonso Dalboquerque was on the bar, he lost no time in visiting him on board his vessel, and gave him a long list of reasons why he ought not to go to Malaca, for, he said, the affairs of Goa were still in so critical a state, that it required him personally to control them; and in addition to this, the Çamorim of Calicut was in such a state of disaffection, that he for his part should not be surprised if he broke out into open treason directly he heard of his departure from India. But although this statement by the King of Cochim had a great show of reason in it, yet in it he did not express his own sentiments, but the design of causing Afonso Dalboquerque to abandon his voyage to Malaca was conceived by the advice of Chirinamercar and Mamalemercar, two Moorish merchants, men full of all kinds of evil and worthless designs.

Now the principal cause of their giving this counsel was, that they feared lest Afonso Dalboquerque should capture the ships which they had sent to Malaca; and if Malaca were taken, they would be left without any means of trading in the whole of that archipelago, from Cape Comorim eastwards, for they were the richest merchants in the whole of Malabar. And although Afonso Dalboquerque clearly perceived that those merchants had deceived the poor king in persuading him to turn aside from the course he really wished to pursue, yet because the king was friendly to us, Afonso Dalboquerque dissembled with him and pretended not to see through the plot, and told him that his mind was now quite made up to accomplish that voyage, because the

[1] *Porque a levava atravesada na garganta.*

season would not permit of his passing over to the Straits in accordance with the orders he had received from the king D. Manuel, his lord; but, he said he trusted in God that the king of Cochim would very soon hear news of how thoroughly he had taken vengeance for the treason which had been practised in that city of Malaca upon the Portuguese; and that Goa was in so strong a condition that he should not be afraid even if all the power of the Hidalcão were brought to bear against the city.

When this conversation was over which Afonso Dalboquerque held with the king, he took his leave of him, and sent for Manuel de Lacerda, whom he found there, and because his fleet was but small he reinforced him with four small ships more, and two large ships, men, and munitions of war, with instructions that in the month of August he was to proceed to unite with the other ships which he would then find cruising off the bar of Goa; and he gave him also plenary jurisdiction over all the other captains who should come there, that they should obey him, as though he represented Afonso Dalboquerque in person; and he was always to cruise along that coast in order to be able to render assistance if the affairs of Goa required it; and then Afonso Dalboquerque dismissed him to get his fleet in readiness, while he himself gave orders to his captains to lift their cables and set sails.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from Cochim, and made his way direct to Malaca, and of what passed thereupon.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, having thus taken his leave of the King of Cochim and dispatched Manuel de Lacerda, who was to remain behind as chief captain of that coast, set sail with all his fleet, which consisted of eighteen

sailing vessels, three of which were galleys. The captains were—D. João de Lima; Fernão Telez Dandrade; Gaspar de Paiva; James Teixeira; Bastiam de Miranda; Aires Pereira; Jorge Nunes de Lião; Dinis Fernandez de Melo, chief *Patrão;* Pero Dalpoem, Auditor of India; Antonio Dabreu; Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco; Simão Dandrade; Duarte da Silva; Simão Martinz; Afonso Pessoa; Simão Afonso; and Jorge Botelho; and, proceeding on their way, when they had got as far forward as Ceilão (Ceylon), they caught sight of a ship.

Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to chase her, and they took her, and he was very glad to find it belonged to the Guzerates, as he felt his voyage would now be carried out safely, for the Guzerates understand the navigation of those parts much more thoroughly than any other nations, on account of the great commerce they carry on in those places. And while the fleet was in this latitude a storm arose, during which the galley which was commanded by Captain Simão Martinz, was lost; for, without his knowledge, the ship had been loaded with copper, and she sprung a leak at the prow, and the force of the storm drove her over on her side, and she foundered, but all the people were saved, for Duarte da Silva stood by the ship in his great galley, which was all ready for the emergency. And when all the men had been brought off the wreck, Afonso Dalboquerque led the whole fleet, and brought up at anchor in the harbour of Pedir,[1] having in his company five Guzerate vessels which he had captured on the voyage.

And there he found João Viegas and eight Christians of the company of Ruy de Araujo, who had arrived thus far in their flight from the city of Malaca, and João Viegas recounted to him how the King of Malaca had endeavoured to force them to become Moors, and had ordered some of

[1] A harbour on the northern coast of the Island of Sumatra, 5 deg. 24 min. N. lat., 96 deg. 4 min. E. long., a little to the east of Acheen.

them to be tied hand and foot and circumcised; and they had suffered many torments because they would not deny the faith of Jesus Christ. And one night, when they were all ready to flee away, they were discovered, and Ruy Daraujo and those who were now with him were left behind, because that they were unable to escape. And he declared further that with the King of Pacé there was a principal Moor of Malaca whose name was Naodabegea,[1] who had been the chief author of the treason which had been plotted against Diogo Lopez de Sequeira; and this man had fled from Malaca because he and the Bendará, whom the king killed, had laid a plan to kill the king and take possession of the kingdom.

On hearing this news Afonso Dalboquerque immediately took his leave of the King of Pedir, and made his way to Pacé,[2] which is the principal port of the Island of Samatra, and as soon as he arrived there he sent João Viegas to pay him a visit, and to declare to him that it had come to the knowledge of Afonso Dalboquerque that in the city of Pacé there was a Moor who was fleeing from Malacca who was implicated in the attempt to murder certain Portuguese, who belonged to some ships which the King of Portugal, his lord, had sent to the port of the city of Malaca, and that

[1] The Edition of 1576 reads Naodabegea, that of 1774, Maodabegea; but from the recurrence of the name on p. 62 there can be no doubt that this latter is a typographical error. For the meaning of the first part of this word, see vol. i, p. 227.

[2] Pacé, a harbour a little to the east of Pedir, on the northern coast of the Island of Sumatra. Barretto de Resende gives "Passen" and "Porto de Passen" in Pedro Berthelot's map dated 1635, in the Sloan. MS. 197, fo. 390, on this site. K. Johnston, in the "Royal Atlas", spells the place "Passier" and "Pasier", and assigns the position of 5 deg. 2 min. N., 97 deg. 10 min. E. to the former; and that of 5 deg. 10 min. N., 97 deg. 22 min. E. to the latter place. There can be no doubt that this is a mistake. The spelling adopted by Berthelot is an illustration of the peculiar nasality introduced into the sound of final vowels by the Portuguese.

he begged him of his goodness to cause this Moor to be delivered over to him.

The King of Pacé replied that it was quite true that the Moor had been there, but at present he had no news of him, but he would cause very diligent search to be made after him, and when he was found he would hand him over to Afonso Dalboquerque. And when the king had sent this reply to Afonso Dalboquerque he advised the Moor to go straight at once to Malaca and give the king notice of the approach of the Portuguese, for when he heard this news he would pardon him, and reinstate him in his good favour. As soon as the king had arranged this he sent to Afonso Dalboquerque to say that he had ordered search to be made for the Moor but he could not be found, and he thought he must have fled away, for he could not learn any news of him anywhere throughout the city. But as Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that all this was deception on the part of the king he would not hold any further communications with him, but, not breaking off his friendship, he sailed away.

CHAPTER XV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from the port of Pacé, and at sea he sighted a sailing vessel which was carrying the Moor who was flying from him, and how he sent after the vessel, and what further took place.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had taken his departure from the King of Pacé he ordered the fleet to set sail, and in this manner so sailing along all together with a favourable wind, they caught sight of a *pangajaoa*.[1] This is the name

[1] The latter part of this word is clearly the Portuguese fem. adj. for Javanese. The *Pangajaoa* was a sort of boat impelled by oars. Bluteau calls the *Pangajoa* a kind of rowing boat, used in India. It appears to be different from the *Pangaio*, a sort of small boat composed

of a kind of long vessel, very fast sailing, used in that country; and as the wind had dropped by this time, and Aires Pereira, captain of the *Taforea*, was nearest to it, Afonso Dalboquerque signalled to him to give chase. Aires Pereira got into his boat with some soldiers and set out in pursuit. And the Moors who were on board of the vessel defended themselves with so much spirit that they wounded Aires Pereira and a considerable number of his people without their being able to get in.

Not content with thus defending his vessel the captain, although he was severely wounded, leaped down to Aires Pereira in his boat, and they fought with cuts and blows at each other, and there was at length despatched; and then our people boarded the *pangajaoa* and put to death all the Moors who sought to make any defence, and took seven or eight prisoners, and gathered themselves together again in their boat, and there they found the Moorish captain half dead, without any blood flowing from the numerous wounds he had received.

Aires Pereira commanded the mariners to throw him into the sea just as he was; but when they perceived that he was richly clothed, they sought first of all to strip him, and then they found on his left arm a bracelet of bone, set in gold, and when they took this off all his blood flowed away and he expired. Aires Pereira was so surprised at this that he took the bracelet and the captive Moors to Afonso Dalboquerque, and recounted to him all that had passed, and Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of the Moors who that Cap-

of boards tied together with cords only. "Navigium Pangaio, e levi et raro ligno constructum, non nisi funibus colligatum est, nullo omnino clavo ferreo infixo" (*Hist. Ind. Orient.*, p. 220). Camões calls it *sutil*, "lightly skimming", in the line—

"Os Pangayos sutis da bruta gente."—I, 92.

Although narrow and lightly built, the Pangaio is capable of carrying a considerable burden.

tain was, and what was the use of that bracelet to him which he wore; and they replied that he was a principal Moor of Malaca, whose name was Naodabeguea,[1] and he was on his way to warn the king of the coming of the Portuguese, and the bracelet was formed of the bones of certain animals which were called *cabals*,[2] that are bred in the mountain ranges of the kingdom of Siam, and the person who carries those bones so that they touch his flesh can never lose his blood, however many wounds he may receive, so long as they are kept on him. Afonso Dalboquerque was much moved at the death of the Moors from whom he had hoped to obtain information concerning the state of affairs at Malaca, and he prized the bracelet very much for its virtues, and kept it to send it to the king D. Manuel.

When Aires Pereira had returned into his own ship, the whole fleet went back along the coast in the same order as they had first come, and when they were in the latitude of the Powder Island[3] they sighted two very large junks, and gave chase to them. One of these, which was from Choromandel,[4] struck immediately; the other, from Jaoa,[5] would not do so; Afonso Dalboquerque therefore ordered Pero Dalpoem to go up close and call upon her to surrender, and if she would not do so, then to attack her at close quarters; and as it happened that, in the act of boarding the junk, our own men were closely pressed, the Javanese wounded

[1] Called Maodabegea, on p. 59, *n.*

[2] *Cabais.* João de Barros, in *Decad.*, ii, f. 139, col. 23, relates a similar circumstance to this here described; no description of this fabulous creature is recorded by Bluteau, who mentions the passage.

[3] Polvoreira, shown in Barretto de Resende's copy of Pedro Berthelot's map as Polverera, an island in the Straits of Malaca. MS. Sloan, 197, f. 390; Keith Johnston does not mention it.

[4] Coromandel, or Karimanal, Madras Presidency, 13 deg. 24 min. N., 80 deg. 19 min. E.

[5] Java.

several of the men with arrows, and hampered the gear of the mizen-sail[1] and the bowsprit.[2]

When Pero Dalpoem perceived that his rigging was thus destroyed, he disengaged his ship from the junk, and drew off from her. But Afonso Dalboquerque, who was the nearest to him, as soon as he saw Pero Dalpoem disengaging himself, drew up close and demanded the surrender of the junk, which was about six hundred tons burden, very well supplied with arms, and carrying three hundred fighting men on board; and fearing lest her men should set her on fire as soon as he had grappled her—a custom which the Javanese have when they find themselves overcome by the enemies—Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the master[3] of his ship to take the ship's boat, ready with a cable through the ship's hawses,[4] with orders to the effect that he was to arrange so as to be able to cast off the cable whenever he wished, if the Javanese should set fire to the ship.

When this had been set in order, Afonso Dalboquerque drew up close alongside the junk and began to fire into her with his bombards; and as the enemy would not even yet yield, although there were already forty of them killed and a great number of the others wounded, he got ready to board her. As soon as the Javanese perceived that they were overpowered by the ship, the *Flor de la Mar*, which was built with very lofty castles, they set fire to the junk.

[1] *Traquete.* Jal interprets this rightly as the *Voile de misaine*, or mizen sail; it was also called the *traquete davante.* Moraes wrongly defines it to be *a vela do mastro mais alto do navio.* It is the *trinchetto* of the Italians. Bluteau calls it the "*Vela pequena, atada à peça mais alta do mastro grande.*"

[2] *Goroupés;* also *gouroupéz* and *gurupés.*

[3] Mestre, probably *mate*, through Maître, *Fr.*

[4] *Esconvés*, an indeclinable plural, sometimes written *escovêns* and *escouves.* Jal quotes the passage in more than one place in his *Glossaire Nautique*, as *escouves*; but the misprint of *esconves*, if it is one, is found in the early edition, as well as the later one, of the *Commentaries.* The word appears to be derived from *excubiæ*, Lat.; *écubier*, Fr.

It was not until the flames reached the ship that Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to the mate to unhook his ship and cast off from the junk, and draw away out from between the vessels. The Javanese no sooner observed the shadow of the towering ship passing away from over them, than they set to work to extinguish the fire in their own vessel, but as it had by this time become very extensive, they could only do so, with very great difficulty, and this compelled them to surrender.

The junk having now surrendered, Afonso Dalboquerque discovered that the King of Pacé was on board, and so he sent for him, and when he saw him he begged his pardon very earnestly for this unfortunate affair which should not have happened if he had known of his Royal Highness being on board, and he showed him those ceremonies and that good treatment which is due to a personage of such dignity; and when he had entertained him and taken care for some of his servants who had got badly wounded in the fight, the king gave him an account of his misfortune, setting forth how he was on his way to the King of Java, who was his relative, to ask his assistance with soldiers and a fleet against one of his governors who had risen up in rebellion with the kingdom against him, but if he, Afonso Dalboquerque, would undertake this enterprise and reseat him in his estate again, then he would become a vassal of the King of Portugal, and pay him tribute.

Afonso Dalboquerque, considering that the trade of Pacé would be of great importance to Malaca, if he took it, on account of the great quantity of pepper that the Island contains, told him that he was now engaged on an expedition for settling accounts with the King of Malaca for an injustice which he had done to a captain of the King of Portugal his lord, who had reached that port under the royal safeguard, but when this had been completed he would promise that upon his return voyage to India he would

replace him in the possession of his kingdom. The king thanked him very much for his promises of assistance, and declared he would remain there in the ship with him, and ordered those who were in the junk to follow him. And when the fleet was now close to Malaca, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-Branco captured a very rich junk which had just sailed out of the port, bound for the kingdom of Siam, and from the Moors who were taken in her Afonso Dalboquerque learned that Ruy Daraujo and the Portuguese of his company were alive, and that the king already knew of his coming.

So numerous were the ships that they passed on that voyage, that had it not been Afonso Dalboquerque's determination to go to Malaca, they could have taken the largest prize that was ever beheld in those parts; for it was just the time of the monsoon when the Moors navigate to the kingdoms of India which lie to the east of Cape Comorim, but during the other monsoon they make their way direct to the Straits of Méca, laden with all sorts of different spices which are brought to Malaca. But inasmuch as Afonso Dalboquerque desired to have secure peace and friendship with all the kings and Hindoo lords who have their territories on the South, and to trade in their ports—as the King D. Manuel had ordered that the commerce of Malaca should not be destroyed,—he treated all the ships which he passed on the way with good will and entertainment, and to their captains he shewed every kindness in the name of the king of Portugal, and gave them safe conducts, enabling them to navigate—provided they did not go to the Straits—and at this they were very well pleased.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque reached the port of Malaca, and the king sent immediately to visit him, and the rest that took place.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had taken the king of Pacé into his ship, he continued his course and sailed up to the shoals of Capacia[1], and entered the twelve fathom passage, and reached the harbour of Malaca one day at evening with all his fleet decked with flags, and the men sounding their trumpets, and ordered them to salute the city with all the artillery, and proceeded to cast anchor in front of the harbour. And when the fleet had thus anchored, the king immediately sent a Moor with a message to Afonso Dalboquerque, asking what was the object of so great a fleet; whether he came for war or for peace, for he did not wish for anything else than peace with the king of Portugal; and giving him to know that his Bendará had been put to death by his orders on account of his complicity in the rising which had taken place against the Portuguese captain (Diogo Lopez de Sequeira) who had come to that port, and resulted in the murder of the Christians who were in the land, but this was no fault of his.

Afonso Dalboquerque listened to this artful apology, and dissembled with him, in hopes of getting Ruy de Araujo and the other Christians who were there in his power again, so he replied that he was well aware how little the king of Malaca was to blame in the matter of the treachery shown to the captain of the king his lord, and now that the king had at length avenged the death of the Christians whom the Bendará had put to death, by cutting off his head, he begged he would of his favour cause those who were left alive to be

[1] In the Straits of Malaca, to the north of the city.

delivered up, and pay, out of the property of the Bendará, for all the goods which had been seized.

The king lost no time in sending the Moor back to declare to Afonso Dalboquerque that they should make peace first, and then he would send back the Christians and make satisfaction for all that had been taken. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he would not make peace until the Christians had been sent back and all the king's property restored, according to the terms of his first answer sent through the same Moor, and when he had received everything, there would be time to talk of peace, for this was what the king his lord desired, and it was for this object that the King of Portugal had sent him thither, for this fleet had not come in search of a cargo, but to make war upon the king of Malaċa, if he would not come to terms of peace with the king his lord.

Notwithstanding all this, the king still refused to deliver up Ruy de Araujo and the Christians without first making peace, for he thought by this means to curb the spirit of Afonso Dalboquerque; but he, on his part, determined not to come to any terms until the Christians were first of all restored to him, as well as all the property which had been detained, and so these negotiations went on from one side to the other until the king of Malaca began to put into practice some of his artifices, and ordered a fleet of launches[1] to issue out of the river, and when they had made a good muster with men and artillery they withdrew again; with these trickeries[2] and follies they thought to get the advantage of Afonso Dolboquerque, but he put up with everything in hopes of getting Ruy de Araujo into his

[1] *Lancharas.*

[2] *Biocos*, a word employed chiefly in the phrase *andar a biocos*, said of women that walk about with a cloak that covers the greater part of their faces and one eye, so that they can see other people without being known.

hands again, for he remembered how the Viceroy had sent him in company with Diogo Lopez de Sequeira in disgrace to Malaca, on his account.[1] And being informed by Ruy de Araujo that the king was causing certain stockades of very great strength to be erected along the seaboard, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to the King of Malaca to say, that it did not look like a sign of good friendship when he would not send back his Portuguese but ordered the erection of stockades, like one who rather desired war than peace; and how differently, he said, had the king of Pacé behaved to him, for as soon as his port was reached he immediately sent back nine Portuguese who had got away so far in their flight from the bondage in which he, the king of Malaca, had held them; but it seemed, indeed, as if there was no arriving at any settlement with him. The king, in spite of all these arguments, still determined not to surrender the Christians without first of all making a treaty of peace.

Afonso Dalboquerque saw through this design of the king; and in order that he should not think that he had produced any effect by this display of launches in the river which were making a great show there every day according to the king's orders, he decided to undeceive him, and so he gave orders that an expedition of four boats well armed with fighting men and artillery should be got ready, and make their way along the bank and throw some shots from their bombards into the city. When the Moors perceived the boats setting out from the ships, they came out to wait for them, beyond the river's mouth, in a fleet of twenty *pangajaoas*, armed with many men. No sooner had Afonso Dalboquerque perceived them than he ordered a number of boats to be sent to reinforce the four first sent. This disconcerted the Moors, who observed the movement, and

[1] For the circumstances concerning the carrying of Ruy de Araujo to Malaca, see vol. ii, p. 45.

withdrew themselves back again into the river with their fleet. And when they had retired the king again sent the accustomed messages, full of deceit and specious words and falsehoods, to Afonso Dalboquerque.

And Afonso Dalboquerque again listened to them with great patience, always hoping to avoid having recourse to war, and explaining to the king how his coming to Malaca was for the preservation of the port, and for the making of a treaty and ratiying friendship with him, and by no means for the purpose of destroying him. But as there were Moors of many races in the city, all of whom were anxious to prevent a peaceable solution of this matter—to the end that our people should not get a footing in the land—they led the king to believe that Afonso Dalboquerque would never dare to attack the city, but as soon as the monsoon should spring up he would have to be gone without waiting any longer. And a similar thought was in the minds of his own captains. Those who most laboured to prevent peace being made were the Guzarates, for all the trade of Cambaya lies at Malaca, and they offered to help the king with six hundred whites, all well armed, and forty bombards.

And besides all these designs which the king entered into, with the aid of the Moors both native and foreign, Ruy de Araujo sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that the stockades were fast approaching completion, and the king was making ready for his defence; and the Turks, Guzarates, Rumes, and Coraçones were the principal ones who were advising him to make no agreement, but to forbid our people to make any settlement in the land; and in order to carry out their designs they were giving large bribes to the king and his governors; and they had also on their side the Cacizes,[1] who made long harangues to him,

[1] Cacizes, priests whose duty was to recount with dramatic vehemence in high places, and public concourses, the circumstances of the death of the Prophet.

declaring that the Portuguese were renegades and thieves, desirous of lording over the whole world, and that he would be sorry for it if he allowed them to come into the city. And Ruy de Araujo went on to say that the Xabandar[1] of the Guzarates, who was the mainstay of all the merchants of Cambaya—a man of great credit with the king—had gone to the king and begged him very earnestly not to make friendship with the Portuguese nor come to any terms of peace with them, for their ships and those of the Moors could not navigate in one and the same course in one and the same monsoon, neither could they take in their cargoes all together in the same port, for, if this was a matter of keen competition, even when all engaged were of one nation, how much more difficult would those things be, seeing that these on the one hands were Moors, and the Portuguese, on the other hand, Christians, desirous to destroy them and procuring the destruction of them all; and the Xabandar declared that he gave him this advice because he was very desirous of doing him a service, and preserving the kingdom; and he ought to temporize with the chief captain of that (Portuguese) fleet, and keep up negotiations with him, for when the monsoon should come, he could not remain there any longer.

The king was well pleased with the advice given by the Xabandar, and discussed it all with his governors, and they all were of opinion that such a policy should be carried out; therefore he ordered that his fleet should be repaired immediately, to the end that it might be prepared for anything that might happen, and that the work of the stockades should be pressed on more quickly.

[1] See vol. ii, p. 132. The meaning of the term is "Lord of the Shore".

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the site and foundation of the kingdom and city of Malaca.

The kingdom of Malaca[1] on the one side is co-terminous

[1] Camões makes the prophetic Siren sing:—

"Mais avante fareis, que se conheça
Malaca por emporio ennobrecido,
Onde toda a provincia do mar grande
Suas mercadorias ricas mande.

"Dizem que desta terra, co'as possantes
Ondas o mar entrando, dividio
A nobre ilha Samatra, que já d'antes
Juntas ambas a gente antigua vio:
Chersoneso foi dita, e das prestantes
Veas d'ouro, que a terra produzio,
Aurea por epitheto lhe-ajuntaram,
Alguns que fosse Ophir imaginaram.

"Mas na ponta da terra Cingapura
Verás, onde o caminho ás náos se estreita
Daqui, tornando a costa á Cynosura,
Se encurva, e para a Aurora se endireita:
Vês Pam, Patâne, reinos, e a longura
De Sião, que estes e outros mais sujeita;
Olha o rio Menão, que se derrama
Do grande lago, que Chiamai se chama."

x, 123-125.

"MALACCA, see before where ye shall pitch
Your great Emporium, and your Magazins:
The Rendezvouz of all that Ocean round
For Merchandizes rich that there abound.

"From this ('tis said) the Waves' impetuous course,
Breaking a passage through, from Main to Main,
SAMATRA's noble Isle of old did force,
Which then a Neck of Land therewith did chain:
That this was CHERSONESE till that divorce,
And from the wealthy mines, that there remain,

with the kingdom of Queda,[1] and on the other with the kingdom of Pam,[2] and would have about a hundred leagues of coast, and in breadth, across the land up to a chain of mountains where the kingdom of Sião[3] stops, it would be about ten leagues. All this land of old was subject to the kingdom of Sião, and it would be about ninety years,[4] a little more or less—when Afonso Dalboquerque arrived there—since it became a kingdom of itself. And the kings of this kingdom became in time so powerful, that they were called *Coltois*, a word used among them for "Emperor." Now, because it is necessary, for well understanding these commentaries, to look a little further into the foundation of Malaca, I will relate here whence this kingdom derived its first beginning.

At the time when Malaca was founded, there reigned in the Island of Jaoa a king who was called Bataratamurel,

> The Epithite of GOLDEN had annext:
> Some think it was the OPHYR in the Text.
>
> "But at that Point doth CINGAPUR appear:
> Where the pincht Streight leaves Ships no room to play.
> Heer the Coast, winding to the Northerne Beare,
> Faces the fair Aurora all the way.
> See PAN, PATANE (ancient Realms that were),
> And long SYAN, which These, and more, obey!
> The copious River of MENAM behold,
> And the great Lake Chiamay from whence 'tis roll'd!"
>
> *Fanshaw.*

[1] Queda, or Kidah, 7 deg. 6 min. N., 100 deg. 33 min. E.; on the western side of the Malay Peninsula.

> "Quedá, que he só cabeça
> Das que pimenta alli tem produzido."
>
> *Lus.*, x, 123.

[2] Pahang, 3 deg. 35 min. N., 103 deg. 17 min. E., on the eastern side of the Peninsula.

[3] Siam.

[4] See notes derived from Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, at end of this chapter.

and in the kingdom of Palimbão[1] which lies within the Island of Jaoa, there reigned a Hindoo king whose name was Parimiçura, and as there were many dissensions between them they at length came to an understanding that Parimiçura should marry one of the daughters of Bataratamurel, who was called Parimiçuri, and continue paying a certain tribute to the king of Jaoa his father-in-law. This king Parimiçura, when a few days had elapsed after he had made this agreement, repented of it, and rose up and threw off his promise of obedience, and would not pay the tribute to his father-in-law, and in order to do this he conferred with some of his relatives, and put his intentions into practice.

When Bataratamurel perceived that his son-in-law had risen up in rebellion against him, and was unwilling to pay the tribute, he came against him with a large force and overcame him, and took away his kingdom from him; and Parimiçura, seeing that he was worsted and fearing lest he should fall into the hands of his father-in-law, fled away with his wife, his children and his slaves, and some few remnants of his forces, in a junk, and reached Singapura,[2] which was a very large and very populous city—as is witnessed by its great ruins which still appear to this very day—before the foundation of Malaca, and put himself under obedience to the king of Sião.

Singapura, whence this city takes its name, is a channel through which all the shipping for those parts passes, and signifies in the Malay language, "*treacherous delay*"; and this designation suits the place very well, for sometimes it happens that when ships are there waiting for a monsoon there comes so fierce a storm that they are lost.

When the king Parimiçura had arrived at this port, the captain of the city, whose name was Tamagi, seeing him coming in this plight, entertained him in his house, and

[1] ? Palembang, in Sumatra island, 2 deg. 46 min. S., 104 deg. 50 min. E. See note at end of chapter.

[2] Singapore.

showed him many honours. But Parimiçura, as a payment for the good treatment he had received, out of covetousness for the richness of the land, murdered him with a creese a week after his arrival, and became Lord of the Channel and population that there were in it.

As soon as it was known in the kingdom of Palimbão how prosperous Parimiçura had become, three thousand natives of this kingdom made their way to the king, and these he kept with him, and he lived in the city of Singapura for five years, robbing every one who passed through, for he had a numerous fleet of launches on the sea. The Lord of Patané,[1] who was Tamugi's brother,[2] when he learned that Parimiçura had murdered his brother, and had made himself lord of the channel, made ready and fell upon him with a large force, and being assisted by those of the country who owed him a grudge on account of his rapacity, overcame him.

Parimiçura being now overcome fled away and went up into the river of Muar, where he found some fishermen who lived in poverty, and commenced again to get land into cultivation to produce bread[3] for his subsistence, and with a little fish which the fisherman used to give him he lived there for some time; and some people whom he carried with him led no other life than roving as robbers over the sea in launches which they found.

At this time there lived also in the port, where now the population of Malaca is located, twenty or thirty fishermen, who supported themselves sometimes by fishing, and at other times by robbing; and they hearing that king Pari-

[1] Patani, in the Malay Peninsula, 6 deg. 56 min. N., 101 deg. 2 min. E.

[2] Note the altered form of this name.

[3] *E começou a fazer terras de pão pera se manter;* it may be that there is here a play on the word *terra* in the phrase *terras de pão*, lumps of bread, as it were, instead of the expanse of territory he had formerly held sway over.

miçura was settled at Muar, with the reputation of being a cavalier and man of spirit, made their way to him and told him that in the country where they were, three leagues' distance along a river, there was a plain which was called Bintão,[1] very fertile, wherein large crops of rice could be grown, as well as all other things required, and well supplied with water for drinking; that he ought to remove

[1] Bintang. "An Island called *Pentam*, a very wild place. All the wood that grows thereon consists of odoriferous trees."—*Marco Polo*, Ed. Yule, ii, 261.

Of this island, situated in 1 deg. 10 min. N. lat., 104 deg. 30 min. E. long., Col. Yule writes as follows:—"Pentam is no doubt the Bintang of our maps, more properly Bentan, a considerable Island at the Eastern extremity of the Straits of Malaca. It appears in the list published by Dulaurier from a Javanese inscription, of the kingdoms conquered in the fifteenth century by the sovereigns reigning at Majapahit in Java. Bintang was for a long time after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca the chief residence of the Malay Sultans who had been expelled by that conquest, and it still nominally belongs to the Sultan of Johore the descendant of those princes, though, in fact, ruled by the Dutch, whose port of Rhio stands on a small island close to its western shore. It is the Bintão of the Portuguese, whereof Camoens speaks as the persistent enemy of Malacca." The passage is as follows:—

"Mas despois que as estrellas o chamarem,
Succederás, ó forte Mascarenhas,
E, se injustos o mando te tomarem,
Prometto-te que fama eterna tenhas!
Para teus inimigos confessarem
Teu valor alto, o fado quer que venhas
A mandar mais de palmas coroado,
Que de fortuna justa acompanhado:

"No reino de Bintão, que tantos danos
Terá a Malaca muito tempo feitos,
N' hum só dia as injurias de mil annos
Vingarás co' o valor de illustres peitos:
Trabalhos e perigos inhumanos,
Abrolhos ferreos mil, passos estreitos,
Tranqueiras, baluartes, lanças, settas,
Tudo fico, que rompas e sobmettas."

x, 56, 57.

thither, and if he would make his settlement there, they would serve him and become his tributaries.

Parimiçura, having received this information which the fishermen had given to him, went and viewed the site, and was very much pleased with it and with all that territory; and returning to Muar embarked with all his household and followers, and went to live at Bintão, and began to make extensive sowings of grain, and orchards of fruit, and made some very large palaces for his occupation, and became so well pleased with this land that he created the fishermen to be Nobles and Mandarins of his household out of recompense for their services in having shown him the situation; and because the harbour was commodious and very deep with good water, in the space of four months after Parimiçura had first gone thither, there was a population of a hundred inhabitants where the city of Malaca now stands.[1]

The robbers who used to go about pirating over the sea iu launches that made a practice of putting into the port of Malaca for water, appreciating the favours and good entertainment that they received from the king Parimiçura, began to take up their abode there, and carry thither the goods they had stolen, and a great development began to take place, so that within two years there was a population of two thousand inhabitants, and they began to acquire a steady trade. This Parimiçura gave the name of *Malaca* to the new colony, because, in the language of Jaoa, when a man of Palimbão flees away they call him *Malayo;* and since he had come to that place fleeing from the kingdom of Palimbão, of which indeed he once was king, he gave the place the name of *Malaca*. Others say that it was

[1] From this text it would appear that the city of Malaca was built on the *plain of Bintão*. If the statement of the *Commentaries* is correct, Bintão can hardly be identified with the Island of Bintang, as above. Very possibly there were several sites thus named. Bantam, on the West Coast of Java, is another example of the name.

called Malaca because of the numbers of people who came there from one part and the other in so short a space of time, for the word *Malaca* also signifies to *meet*, and therefore they gave it the name of city in contradiction. Of these two opinions let each one accept that which he thinks to be the best, for this is the truth of the matter.

Batara Tamurel, having perceived the rapid growth of affairs at Malaca, and the prosperity which attended his son-in-law, reconciled himself with him again and sent him a great many supplies at his expense; and because the king Parimiçura was a man of good nature and treated with kindness those who visited that port, the inhabitants of Pacé and of Bengala[1] began to trade with those of Malaca, and seven years after Parimiçura had begun this population of Malaca, he died, and left behind him a son whose name was Xaquendarxa, who, though he was a Hindoo, married a daughter of the king of Pacé, but it would not have been very difficult to make him turn Moor, for when they were married, either by reason of the entreaties of his wife, or from the admonitions of his father-in-law, very few days elapsed before he became a Moor. And this king Xaquendarxa, after having several sons, desired to go and see the king of China, saying he wished to go and see a king who had for his vassals the Javanese, and the Siamese, and people of all other known lands; so he set out from Malaca, taking with him a present for the king of China, and occupied three years in the journey, and became his vassal, and brought back with him a half seal in sign of vassalage, and obtained permission to coin small money of pewter, which money he ordered to be made as soon as he reached Malaca; and to it he gave the name of *Caixes*,[2] which are like our *ceitils*, and a hundred of them go

[1] Bengal.

[2] Cf. "Aos quaes se davão *duas Caixas*, que sam *tres reis* da nossa moeda" (*Hist. de Fern. Mend. Pinto*, 128, col. 4). *Bluteau.*—The Chinese

to the *calaim*, and each *calaim* was worth, according to an appointed law, eleven *reis* and four *ceitils*.[1] Silver and gold was not made into money, but only used by way of merchandise.

And when the king of China had taken his leave of Xaquendarxá, he sent with him a captain who was to accompany him back to Malaca, and in consequence of the

Le (? Portug., *Re*) is the European *cash*; 100 *Le* = 1 *Candarim* (? Portug. *Calaim*).

[1] We here obtain the value of the *Calaim* (as a coin), which is mentioned above, at p. 45. But, on the other hand, Bluteau quotes from the *Decadas* a passage where the word is used as equivalent to *estanho*, and calls it a fine kind of Indian pewter. According to the above, the monetary system of Malaca, as arranged by Xaquendarxa, would be—

1 *Caixe*, or *Cash*, Malay = 1 *Ceitil*, Portuguese.
100 *Caixes* = 1 *Calaim* = 11 *Reis*, 4 *Ceitils*.
∴ 1 *Rei* = $8\frac{8}{11}$ *Ceitils* or *Caixes*.

But from Bluteau's description of the *Ceitil*, which I translate below, the correspondence between the *Rei* and *Ceitil* is different from this deduction. "*Ceitil*, or *Seitil*, as though one said *Sextil*, for of old it was a coin which was equal to the sixth part of an *adarme* ($\frac{1}{16}$ of an ounce). Others say that *Ceitil* is derived from *Ceita*, understanding thereby that this coin was taken from the city of *Ceita*. Others will have it that the coin was called *Ceitil*, as though for *Settil*, because *seven* of them go to the copper *Real*. Francisco Soarez Toscano says, in his *Parallels*, p. 129, that king D. João I, in remembrance of his conquest of the city of Ceita, ordered copper money to be struck, which he then called *Septil*, now *Ceitil*, of which *six* go to the copper *Real*, although they are no longer current in this kingdom, and, indeed, in the time of the said author they were only current in Guimaraens, where flax was bought and sold by the *Ceitil*. On one side of this coin, the said king ordered to be placed the arms of Portugal; on the other, a city along the water side," etc. For the best information upon the native currency, the reader will do well to consult "Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes de l'Archipel Indien et de la Péninsule Malaie, par H. C. Millies; Ouvrage Posthume, publié par l'Institut Royale pour la Philologie et l'Ethnographie de l'Inde Néerlandaise. La Haye. M. Nijhoff, 1871," 4to. For figures of these coins, see the work of Manoel Bernardes Lopes Fernandes, entitled "Memoria das moedas correntes em Portugal", etc.; among the "Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 2*a* classe", p. 96, etc.

great friendship which sprung up between them on their road, Xaquendarxá married one of his daughters,[1] by whom he had a son whose name was Rajapute, from whom are descended the kings of Campar[2] and Pam. And a few days after his return to Malaca he died, and his eldest son, whose name was Modafaixa, reigned after him.

When Modafaixa came to the throne he again confirmed the treaties of peace which his father had made with the king of China, and of Sião and of Jaoa, and greatly ennobled Malaca, and always kept a fleet on the sea, and conquered many lands, and took the kingdom of Campar and of Pam, and of Dandargiri, and made [the kings of] them Moors by force and married them to three daughters of his brother[3] Rajapute. When he had done this he took the name of Sultan Madofaixa,[4] and soon after died, and one of his sons, named Sultan Marsusa, became king after him.

This king when he began to govern his kingdom built upon the mountain of Malaca great palaces in which he lived, and because he was afraid lest his uncle Rajapute, who was at Bentão, should rise up against him and deprive

[1] The text is "casou-o Xaquendarxá com huma filha sua", "Xaquendarxá married him to one of his daughters"; but from the context and pedigree, there is no doubt that the author of the *Commentaries* has translated wrongly here from some original account. The article should not be enclitic; the sentence will then become "Xaquendarxá married", etc., as I have given it; and this is borne out by the reading of the edition of 1576. "Casou ho Xaquendarxá", etc.

[2] "Vês, corre a costa que Champá se chama,
Cuja mata he do pao cheiroso ornada."—*Lus.*, x, 129.

"Here (mark it!) runs the Coast that's called CHAMPA,
Whose groves smell hot of Calambuco wood."—*Fanshaw.*

See also Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii, 248, Book III, chap. v: "Of the Great Country called Chamba"; which the learned editor identifies with "the whole coast between Tongking and Kamboja, including all that is now called Cochin China outside of Tongking".—*Ib.*, p. 250.

[3] See pedigree at the end of the chapter.

[4] Note this variant form of the name.

him of his kingdom by force, he went to that place and killed him with a creese, although he was now of an advanced age.

As soon as the kings of Pam and Dandargiri were informed of the murder of his uncle which had been committed by Sultan Marsusa they conspired against him, but as he was a cavalier he went up against them and overcame them, and compelled them to pay a double tribute, and married them with his two sisters, and he himself married a daughter of the king of Pam. These marriages produced great amity among them all, and by this daughter of the king of Pam the sultan had a son who died by poison; and afterwards the sultan married a daughter of his Lassamane,[1] by whom he had a son called Alaoadin. On the death of Sultan Marsusa, Sultan Alaoadin became king and married a daughter of the king of Campar, and this king was so rich and amassed so much gold out of the revenues of the port of Malaca, that it was estimated at a hundred and forty quintals[2] of gold.

He now contemplated his wealth and determined to go to the temple of Méca, and made ready many junks for the passage, intending to carry with him the king of Campar and the king of Dandargiri, whom he kept in his court because they were inclined to revolt, not permitting them to return to their own lands, and he had become lord over all that land because he was very powerful on the sea and very rich. And in this king's time Malaca became so noble a city that it was said to contain forty thousand inhabitants, amongst whom were people from all parts of the world. This Sultan Alaoadin married a daughter of his

[1] For the signification of this word, see next chapter.

[2] The *quintal* is equal to 4 *arrobas*, of 32 *arratels* each. The *arratel* contains 2 *marcos*, of eight *onças* each. The *quintal* is represented as equivalent to 58.7428 *kilogr.*, Fr. 140 *quintals* = 8824 *kilogr.*, nearly; that is, upwards of eight tons avoirdupois, English. At £3, English, to the ounce, this would amount to upwards of £860,000.

Bendará, who had been Quelim[1] in the time of his father, whom he loved very dearly, and by her he had a son who was called Sultan Mahamet, and by the daughter of the king of Campar he had a son whose name was Sultan Celeimão, and to this latter the kingdom appertained by right, because he came of the lineage of the kings.

When Alaoadin was ready to set out for Méca, he died of poison, and it was said to have been given to him by the intrigues of the kings of Pam and Dandargiri, because he tried to carry them away against their will. On the death of Sultan Alaoadin, a great dissension arose in the kingdom, because the daughter of the king of Campar, who was queen, wished that her son should inherit the kingdom, for it belonged to him by right. But the Bendará, who was very powerful, and had command of large sums of money, favoured the grandson of his brother who had been Bendará before him, and the kings of Pam and Campar favoured the former. At last the Bendará seized the kingdom for his relative; and as soon as Sultan Mahamet was in possession of the kingdom, he threw off the yoke of Sião and Java, and submitted himself to the king of China.

When the king of Sião found that the king of Malaca would not obey him, he came down against him with a fleet of a hundred sail. The king of Malaca getting knowledge of this, sent his Lassamane to intercept the fleet on the way, and the Lassamane proceeded to wait for him off the island of Pulapicão,[2] and routed the whole of the fleet. And from that time until Afonso Dalboquerque took Malaca[3]—twenty-two years after—they never came again.

[1] This word appears to be a titular designation and of Chinese origin.

[2] ? Panjang, or Pulo Panjang Island, in the Gulf of Siam, 9 deg. 9 min. N., 103 deg. 25 min. E.

[3] Col. Yule, in his Second Edition of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, gives the substance of the following notes in vol. ii, p. 263, 264, which are necessary to understand this chapter.

Singapura was founded by an emigration from Palembang, itself a

This king Sultan Mahamet was very vain and very proud, and made a quarrel with his father for wishing to go to the temple of Méca, for he used to say that Malaca was the right Méca; and, being suspicious of his brother, Sultan

Javanese colony. It became the site of a flourishing kingdom, and was then, according to the tradition recorded by De Barros, the most important centre of population in those regions. The Malay chronology, as published by Valentyn (v, 352), ascribes the foundation of Malaca to a king called Iskandar Shah, in A.D. 1252, fixes the reign of Mahomet Shah, third king of Malaca, and first Mussulman king, from A.D. 1276-1333, and gives eight kings in all between the foundation of the city and its capture by the Portuguese in A.D. 1511, a space, according to those data, of 259 years. As Sri Iskandar Shah, the founder, had reigned three years in Singapura before founding Malaca, and Mahomet Shah, the loser, reigned two years in Johore after the loss of his capital, we have 264 years to divide among eight kings, giving thirty-three years to each. This certainly indicates that the period requires considerable curtailment.

Again, both De Barros and these *Commentaries* ascribe the foundation of Malaca to a Javanese fugitive from Palembão, called Paramiçura, and the latter makes Xaquendarxa (Iskandar Shah) the *son* of Paramiçura, and first convert to Mahomedanism. *Four* other kings (see pedigree here following) reign in succession, the last of them being Sultan Mahamet (Mahomed Shah), who was expelled by Afonso Dalboquerque in 1511.

The historian, De Couto, while giving the same number of reigns from the conversion to the capture, places the former about A.D. 1384. And these *Commentaries* allow no more than some ninety years from the foundation of Malaca to the capture of the city by the Portuguese. This would place the foundation about A.D. 1421. There is another approximate check to the chronology, afforded by a Chinese record in Amyot's *Collection*, vol. xiv, where we read that Malaca first acknowledged itself tributary to the empire in 1405, the king being *Sili-ju-eul-sula* (?). In A.D. 1411 *Peilimisula* (Parimiçura) came in person to the Court of China to render homage; and in 1414 the Queen Mother of Malaca came to the Court, bringing her son's homage. Now this notable fact of the visit of a king of Malaca to the Court of China, and his acknowledgment of the Emperor's supremacy, is also recorded in these *Commentaries*; wherein, it is true, the visit is attributed not to Parimiçura, founder of Malaca, but to his son and successor Iskandar Shah. This may be a question of title only, perhaps borne by both; but, we seem entitled to conclude with confidence that Malaca was founded by

Celeimão, he murdered him with a creese, and in like manner he murdered seventeen of the principal men, all of them his relatives, without any cause, and even killed his own son and heir, because he had asked him for some money to spend. The Moors, indeed, used to say that it was in retribution for these crimes that Afonso Dalboquerque deprived him of his kingdom.

a Prince whose son was reigning, and visited the Court of China in 1411. And the real chronology will be about midway between the estimate of De Couto and of the *Commentaries;* that is, the commencement of the fifteenth century.

PEDIGREE OF THE KINGS OF MALACA,

According to the "Commentaries".

Bataratamurel, king of Java.

PARIMIÇURA, king of Palimbão, and 1st king of Malaca. = Parimiçuri.

A dau. of the king of Pacé. =(1) XAQUENDARXÁ, 2nd king of Malaca. =(2) A dau. of the king of China's Captain.

Rajapute. = ...

.... = SULTAN MODAFAIXA, 3rd king of Malaca.

Three daus. married to the kings of Campar, Pam, and Dandargiri.

A dau. of the king of Pam. =(1) SULTAN MARSUSA, 4th king of Malaca. =(2) A dau. of the Lassamane.

A son, poisoned.

A dau. of the king of Campar. =(1) SULTAN ALAOADIM, 5th king of Malaca. =(2) A dau. of the Bendará.

Sultan Celeimão.

SULTAN MAHAMET, 6th and last king of Malaca.

And when these men were dead, he seized all their property, amounting to about fifty quintals of gold, and took all their wives and daughters to be his concubines—about fifty women of great price. Thus there were in Malaca, from the first king who founded the city to the time of Sultan Mahamet, in whose time Afonso Dalboquerque took it, six kings, that is to say, Parimiçura, Xaquendarxá, Sultan Modafaixa, Sultan Marsusa, Sultan Alaoadim, Sultan Mahamet. And Malaca became so noble that they used to say, when Afonso Dalboquerque took it, that the city and the suburbs contained about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and extended a good league's length along the sea.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the customs and government of the city of Malaca.

This port of Malaca is very safe; there are no storms to injure it, and never was a ship lost there. It forms a point where some monsoons commence and others end, so that the inhabitants of Malaca call those of India people of the West, and the Javanese, Chinese, and Gores,[1] and all other of those Islanders, people of the East; and Malaca is the middle of all this, a sure and speedy navigation, such as Singapura never had, for in the shoals of Capacia many a ship has been lost. And those which come from the east to the west find here western merchandize, and carry it away with them, leaving that which they bring of theirs here instead, and in like manner do they who come from the west. By these means Malaca gradually increased to so great an extent, that whereas the place used once to be a village of Pacé, Pacé became at length a village of

[1] These are described further on in this chapter.

Malaca, for most of the Moors of Pacé came thither to settle.

Every year there used to come to Malaca ships of Cambaya, Chaul, Dabul, Calicut, Adem, Méca, Xaer,[1] Judá, Choramendal, and Bengala, of the Chinese, Gores, and Javanese, of Pegú, and all those parts. But those of Sião did not come to Malaca with their merchandize, because they were continually at war with the Malays. And I verily believe, according to information which I have obtained concerning the affairs of Malaca, that if there were another world, and another navigable route, yet all would resort to the city, for in her they would find every different sort of drugs and spices which can be mentioned in the world, by reason of the port of Malaca being more commodious for all the monsoons from Cape Comorim to the East, than any other ports that exist in those parts. But I do not describe particularly the other advantages that are possessed by this port of Malaca on account of the monsoons, which enable a navigable intercourse to be maintained in those parts independently of the shallows of Capacia, in order that I may not make too long a digression.

The Malays are proud men by nature, and esteem themselves highly for killing men adroitly with stabs of the creese.[2]

[1] Xaer, or Shehr, a port on the coast of Arabia, between Adem and Dofar, 14 deg. 44 min. N., 49 deg. 40 min. E.

[2] Bluteau describes the *Cris*, or Creese, the national arm of the Malays, as a kind of dagger, with a flat blade, sometimes undulating at the sides, and poisoned. The poison is applied in two ways, either by steeping the weapon in the juice of herbs, and so applying the poison whenever it is required to use it; or, by incorporating the poison into the temper of the blade, in order that the metal may be thoroughly imbued with it. Of this latter kind, there are some specimens which cost as much as a thousand *patacas* (piastres), for the makers spend much time in their manufacture, using many superstitions and observing certain periods for the tempering. They strike a certain number of blows on certain days of the month for the forging, and sometimes the ceremony of this work lasts, with mysterious interruptions, for more than a year.

They are malicious, generally of little truth, yet the Gores always used to be truthful because they held it to be a high honour that men should trade with them, for they are a noble race, and one of good customs. The Malays are gallant men, they wear good clothing, they will not allow anyone to put his hands on their heads, nor on their shoulders. All their delight is in conversing about military matters, and they are very courteous. No one is allowed to wear yellow colours under pain of death, except only the king of the land, unless he be a person to whom the king gives permission to do so in order to show him honour. The Fidalgos, when they speak to the king, have to stand off from him at a distance of five or six paces.

In the hot season the poison which is communicated by the *crîs* is so subtle, that, from a light prick or a mere scratch, it reaches the heart and kills. The only remedy is for the wounded person immediately—*comer do seu proprio esterco.*

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., whose collection of ethnographical objects is very extensive, has kindly given me the following notes concerning this weapon :—"The *Kris* may be regarded as the typical or national weapon of the Malays of Java and Sumatra. It is a dagger with a waved or serpentine double-edged blade, varying from less than eleven to full fourteen inches in length, and gradually widening from the point to the grip, where it has a rather sudden expansion, which is always more or less richly decorated on one side with a perforated device. This device occasionally takes the form of the head of a serpent, the body of the reptile constituting a sort of mid-rib, running nearly the whole length of the blade; which, it is well to state, is of fine watered or damasked steel, and it is a common practice to dip this blade in poison before going into action.

"The hilt, or grip, of the *kris* has a singular curve or bend on one side, and is generally wrought of a beautiful rich brown wood which takes a high polish; but ivory is sometimes employed. The grip is almost constantly carved; the decorations, however, vary from a few slight cuttings to elaborate designs.

"The wooden sheath of the *kris* is also of peculiar fashion, having a broad wing on one side to receive the sharp projecting portion of the blade, and it further serves as a support to the weapon when worn in the waist-girdle."

The lords who are adjudged to suffer penalty of death have the honourable privilege of dying by the creese, and the nearest relation of the sufferer is the one who kills him. If any man of the people die without heirs, his property goes to the king; and no one can marry without permission from the king or the Bendará. If anyone take his wife in adultery, he may kill within his house both of the parties, but not outside the house, neither can he kill the one without the other, but he must accuse them before the judge. In the case of a fine for injuries, when it has been imposed, the kings used to take half of the money, and the injured person the other half. In Malaca there were divers manners of administering legal punishment, according to the nature of the crime: some were thrust upon spits, others struck forcibly on the breast;[1] some hanged, others boiled in water; others roasted and given as food to certain men who are like wild men, from a land which is called Daru, whom the king brought to Malaca to eat those condemned to this death. And of every man who dies at the hands of the law, the king takes the half of the property when there are heirs, and the whole of it when there are none.

There used to be in Malaca five principal dignities. The first is *Pudricaraja*, which signifies Viceroy, and after the king this one is the greatest. The second is *Bendará*, who is the Controller of the Treasury, and governs the kingdom. Sometimes the *Bendará* holds both of these offices of *Pudricaraja* and *Bendará*, for two separate persons in these two offices never agree well together. The third is *Lassamane*; this is Admiral of the Sea. The fourth is *Tamungo*, who is charged with the administration of justice upon foreigners. The fifth is *Xabandar*; and of these there were four, one of each nation—one of China, another of Java, another of Cambaya, another of Bengala. And all the lands were

[1] *Acotovelados nos peitos*; lit., elbowed, or struck with the elbow.

divided among these four men, and every one had his portion, and the *Tamungo* was Judge of the Custom House, over all these.

One may well and truly say that Malaca, in point of fact, and merchant trade, is the most extensive place in the world, and her laws were always very strictly obeyed, and the city had need of great persons to govern it, as well in the administration of justice as also in the management of the public property, for it deserves this; but had the city been fairly well governed, Malaca had never ceased to be as it was of old. Yet I do not speak here of the numerous lands, islands, kingdoms, and provinces that lie round these parts, although I had certain information of them in the letters which I used to see from Afonso Dalboquerque to the king, D. Manuel, wherein he gave him account of all those parts of the world, for my intentions are to write only of the labours and conquests of Afonso Dalboquerque, and all else I leave to him who will do it better than I can. I will only here make mention of the Gores, as it is necessary I should do so for the sake of this history.

As for the Gores, according to the information which Afonso Dalboquerque [obtained] when he took Malaca—although now we have more correct accounts concerning them, at that period it was reported that their province was on the mainland—the general opinion of all is that their land is an island, and they navigate from it to Malaca, whence come every year two or three ships. The merchandizes which they bring are silk, silk-stuffs, brocades, porcelain, a great quantity of corn, copper, rock alum, and *frusseria*;[1] and they bring a great deal of gold in little cakes, stamped with the seal of their king. It could not be ascertained whether these little cakes were the money of that land, or whether they impressed them with that mark to show that it was a

[1] *Frusseria;* gold or silver dust in its native state, as obtained from washings at the river mouth, or in mines.

thing which had passed through the port whence they brought it, for they are men of very reserved speech, and do not give anyone an account of their native affairs. This gold comes from an island which is close to theirs; it is called Perioco, and in it there is much gold.

The land of these Gores is called Lequea;[1] the men are fair; their dress is like a cloak[2] without a hood; they carry long swords after the fashion of Turkish cimetars, but somewhat more narrow; they carry also daggers of two palms' length; they are daring men and feared in this land [of Malaca]. When they arrive at any port, they do not bring out their merchandize all at once, but little by little; they speak truthfully, and will have the truth spoken to them. If any merchant in Malaca broke his word, they would immediately take him prisoner. They strive to dispatch their business and get away quickly. They have no settlement in the land, for they are not the men to like going away from their own land. They set out for Malaca in the month of January, and begin their return journey in August and September. The usual course of their navigation is to beat up the channel between the Islands of Celate and the point of Singapura, on the side of the mainland. At the time when Afonso Dalboquerque set sail for India, after having captured Malaca, there had arrived two of their ships at the gate of Singapura, and they were coming on to Malaca, but by the advice of the Lassamane, who was the king of Malaca's admiral of the sea, they remained where they were, and would not pass up, having learned that Malaca had been taken by the Portuguese; but when the governors of the land were informed of their position, they

[1] Lew-Chew, or Loo-Choo, Islands, in the Chinese Empire, 26 deg. 30 min. N., 127 deg. E.

[2] *Balandrois;* the *balandrão* is an ample cloak used by several religious fraternities in Portugal.

sent a safeguard for them, and a flag of truce, and then they came on immediately.

This Lassamane was a man of eighty years of age, a good soldier, and of good repute and great knowledge: when he perceived that the king of Malaca was lost, he went and settled in Singapura, and after Afonso Dalboquerque was in possession of Malaca, he came down to the River of Muar and sent to ask a safeguard, declaring that he was desirous of returning to live at Malaca and serving the king of Portugal. Afonso Dalboquerque sent him the safeguard; nevertheless he would not come, and it was thought that some of the Moors of Malaca, hoping to gain favours from Afonso Dalboquerque and obtain the government of the land, had written something to this Lassamane, whereby they had prevented his coming, for they feared that as he was a man of uncommon capabilities, Afonso Dalboquerque would seize the opportunity to make use of him for the governing of Malaca.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the message which the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent to the king of Malaca, and of the council which he held with his captains concerning the letter which Ruy de Araujo sent him.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque perceiving the pride of the king, and the little dread he had of the Portuguese fleet,—remembering, too, the events which had happened to Diogo Lopez de Sequeira,—became very despondent when he reviewed the course of this business, looking at the falsehoods and deceit which the king of Malaca was practising upon him. And contemplating all these things, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word how he had many times begged that the Christians might be surrendered, for the king had no right to detain them forcibly, because they had not

been taken prisoners in fair war nor by way of reprisals, but rather, on the other hand, under cover of his safeguard and that of his governors; for when they were walking in the city unarmed, the king had ordered them to be put to the sword in the very streets by any who chose to kill them; and although the king had declared that he had ordered his Bendará to be put to death because he had been the cause of the murder of the Portuguese, yet he, Afonso Dalboquerque, had received information that this man had been condemned to death on account of a treasonable offence, of which he had been guilty, in plotting to stir up a revolution against the kingdom ; and this was the truth, for all that the artful excuses about it had for the time been accepted, for after the death of the Bendará, the king himself had given orders for the Christians to be put to the torture, to the end that they should be compelled to become Moors, and some among them, who would not bear their sufferings, had renounced the Faith of Jesus Christ by force, yet he had pretended to take no notice of all these things, and put up with them to see whether it was possible to make a good peace and friendship with him. But since the king was so obstinate as to desire no kind of termination to this business, he, Afonso Dalboquerque, would have him to know that none of the men in the fleet could bear to stay there day after day, without having wreaked their vengeance upon the treason which had been done in that city towards the captain and soldiers of the king of Portugal, whom the king of Malaca had ordered treasonably to be put to death.

Along with this communication which Afonso Dalboquerque sent to the king of Malaca, he also wrote a letter to Ruy de Araujo, wherein he said how well aware he was of his obligation, and that of the captains and all the rest of the forces in the fleet, to die for the service of the king D. Manuel, his lord, and much more so in a war so just wherein

he had frequently justified himself; but that the king of Malaca had apparently obstinately made up his mind neither to deliver up the Christians nor to receive the peace and friendship which were offered to him on the part of the king of Portugal, for which reasons it was advisable to lay hold upon him, Ruy de Araujo, without any further delay; but if this state of affairs should grow more serious, they must put up with their hardships and bear them with patience, for he on his part was bound, insomuch as it was to the advantage of the king of Portugal's estate, to make an end of this business and match his forces against those of the enemy, and the longer he delayed, the more time they had for fortifying themselves.

Ruy de Araujo replied, God grant that neither the fleet of the king of Portugal, nor his Portuguese themselves, should receive any affront or discomfiture in order to make his life secure, for he was also on his part bound to die for the service of God and of his king, and for the liberty of his countrymen, and he held it to be a good fortune for him that Our Lord had placed him in a state where he could die for his Holy Faith; and, as for himself and his companions, he should not fail to do what was best for the service of the king of Portugal, for they were now quite resigned to anything that would happen to them; and he would have Afonso Dalboquerque to know that the king of Malaca was making ready as fast as was possible, and that it was the Guzarates who were at work day and night upon the fortification of the stockades, for these were the principal people who could not bear that the Portuguese should get a footing in the land; and if the Portuguese attack upon the city should be decided upon, it ought to be put into execution as quickly as could be, without wasting any more time in discussing the terms of agreement, or making demands for the surrender of the Christians; for he must know for certain that the king would not restore them to the Portu-

guese, except under compulsion; and he was now become so puffed up with pride when he surveyed the great number of foreign soldiers that he had, that he thought of nothing less than actually capturing the Portuguese fleet.

On receiving this reply from Ruy de Araujo, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned a meeting of all his captains on board of his own ship, and gave them an account of all this which was contained in the letter, and seeing that the king of Malaca was fixed in this determination, he desired them to declare to him whether an immediate attack should be made upon the city, or a further exchange of complimentary negotiations be carried on. The captains replied to him, that for days past they had not thought it right for him to be so long-suffering towards the king; for since the very day of their arrival, the replies of the enemy had always clearly indicated that they did not desire to come to any understanding or friendship with them, and all these delays which had been set up were to enable them to make their preparations and fortify themselves, as Ruy de Araujo had indeed often declared in his communications.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the requisition which the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered to be made to the king, signed by himself and all the captains; and how the king sent him Ruy de Araujo and his companions whom he had there.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned opinion of the captains, the great Afonso Dalboquerque thought right, for the better qualification of these proceedings in the sight of God, and of the kings of all that land (that they should not say the Portuguese were tyrants) that he should first of all order a final and formal demand to be drawn up, and signed by him and by all the captains, and after this certain im-

provised attacks with a show of battle; and this demand was forthwith forwarded to the king of Malaca by the hands of a Moor, who was employed in going backwards and forwards with these negotiations.

The substance of the communication was to the effect that the king D. Manuel, his lord, had sent to the port of Malaca a captain, with certain ships, which came bearing more of merchandize than of men, out of a desire which he had of establishing peace and friendship with him; but, in violation of the safeguard which both the king and his Bendará had granted to this captain, they had notwithstanding stolen all the property and murdered or imprisoned the Portuguese—as had already been the subject of complaint—and laboured as much as they possibly could to seize his ships, but miraculously Our Lord had delivered them from their hands, the king of Malaca should therefore know for certain that unless orders were issued for the immediate release of the Christians and restitution of the property which had been captured in the ships, that he (Afonso Dalboquerque) would certainly destroy him, and take his city away from him, and he held God to be judge between them that he and his governors were the cause of their own destruction; for, by following the advice of the Guzarates—deadly enemies to the Portuguese—he (the king of Malaca) would not take any steps towards concluding terms of peace with him; and, as for the present fleet which he had now with him, it had no thoughts about the monsoon—as the Guzarates had pretended to the king—neither was it losing any season of voyage; nor was it searching for a cargo; for the ships of which it was composed belonged to the fleet which the king of Portugal employed for the government of India, and it was of no consequence to them whether they remained one year or ten in that harbour; and the king of Malaca should rest quite sure that unless he gave up all thoughts of prosecuting the war which he

wished to make upon the captains and men of the king of Portugal, he would very soon lose his estate; and, as a material sign of all these things being in this position, Afonso Dalboquerque gave this token, that he shifted a ring he wore from one finger to another; which he did forthwith in presence of his messenger, who took this declaration to the king.

And the king of Malaca lost no time in sending the messenger back again to declare that his heart was good and sound, and he did not remember about Ruy de Araujo and his Christians; that the reason of not sending them was that he was having some clothing made for them; and that he desired Afonso Dalboquerque would order his ships to withdraw from right in front of the port, in order that there might not arise any disputes between the Christians and the Moors, who had their ships there.

Therefore, although Afonso Dalboquerque was well aware that this was only an artifice of the king, nevertheless, in order not to give him an opportunity of taking hold of anything for future complaint, he ordered the small vessels to withdraw and lie off outside the port; and told the Moor, his messenger, that he was waiting for Ruy de Araujo and his companions, and unless they were returned to him immediately, he should not trouble himself with any further parley or communications. The Moor went back with this message, and six days passed away without his returning with any reply to this. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing this delay, would not wait any longer, and sent ten boats, with armed men in them, to set fire to some houses which stood close to the edge of the shore; and to burn the ships of the Guzarates, in order that they should lose all hope of returning to their land so soon with a cargo, because they had taken so much trouble to prevent the settlement of differences between him and the king of Malaca; and to burn also all the other ships that lay in the port, except

only those which came from ports to the east of the Cape of Comorim, if they belonged to Hindoos.

When these boats reached the houses they set them on fire immediately, and did the same to the ships. The king, now having experienced the determination of Afonso Dalboquerque, lost no time in sending back Ruy de Araujo and the Christians, and with them a Moor to treat for terms of peace, asking him to send back detailed statements of his complaints, and he would do whatever was desired of him. But although Afonso Dalboquerque knew very well that this would not produce any effect, nevertheless he sent back certain statements of his demands, and told the Moor to declare to the king that these were the conditions on which only he would make peace and establish himself in the land.

The king considered the articles, and conceded those of which Afonso Dalboquerque was most doubtful (which did not seem to him to be a good sign), viz., that he would agree to grant a site in the city on which to erect a fortress, and would pay in ready money for everything that had been taken from Diogo Lopez de Sequeira. Afonso Dalboquerque, employing artifices also on his side against the king, replied that although he attached greater importance to the other articles which he had sent than to those which the king had conceded, nevertheless he would consent to accept these concessions, that it might not be said that he was a hard man to please.

To this reply no answer was ever sent back from the king, but some Moorish spies came disguised like merchants, and brought for sale musk, chickens, and other things; and at other times there came the Moor who had been employed to convey the communications between the king and the Portuguese, discoursing of matters which were nothing to the purpose. He pretended that he came to apprise Afonso Dalboquerque of many junks that were approaching

from various parts, armed and with forces on board favourable to the king of Malaca, and of the great preparations for war that they carried. And when the Moor went off, there came out of the river a number of armed *paráos* making show of desiring to come to combat with our fleet; yet with all this, Afonso Dalboquerque bore with it for some days, to see if they desired to follow good advice. But when he saw their stockades bedecked with flags, and everything arranged in order of battle, and that the king, being a tyrant who was anxious to keep up his position at all risks, and spending a great deal of his treasure to keep up his power, and to maintain it, was so blind that he did not see the danger that he ran of losing his kingdom, he considered with himself that this was a judgment that had come upon the king, and that Our Lord desired to make an end of him for good and all, and to cast the Moors, and the very name of Mafamede, out of the land, and to have his Gospel preached in those regions, and their mosques transformed into houses of God's praise by means of the king D. Manuel and by the labours of his subjects, so he gave orders for an attack with armed boats and two barges with heavy bombards, with the object of viewing the men who rallied at the alarm, and seeing where they had stationed their artillery, and how they managed their defence.

CHAPTER XXI.

How the Chinese merchants, who were at Malaca, made their way to the great Afonso Dalboquerque; and of what passed with him; and of the council which he held with the Captains, Fidalgos, and Cavaliers of the Fleet to attack the city.

Among the foreign ships which were in the port of Malaca, to which Afonso Dalboquerque would not have any injury done when he ordered those of the Guzarates to be

burned, were five Chinese junks, whose captains and crews the king of Malaca had detained for some days past, intending to avail himself of them against the king of Daru, with whom he was at war, and this was their condition when Afonso Dalboquerque arrived with his fleet. But the king of Malaca, confident that the Chinese would never dare to fly away for fear of the Portuguese in the port, and also because he had quite enough to do to look after himself and his country, ceased to think about them.

When the Chinese perceived that they had greater freedom than before, they sought a means of escape, and gathered themselves together in their junks. The crews, who were left on land, seeing their captains in safety, a few at a time, each one as best he might, made their way to them, and these captains, when they had reassembled their men, being thoroughly indignant against the king for the robbery and tyranny which he had exercised upon them in respect of their merchandise, and also in order to obtain security for themselves, came and offered themselves to Afonso Dalboquerque with their crews and ships, to help him in his war.

He thanked them very much for their offers of help, but would not accept any assistance from them except the barques[1] of their junks, to be used for disembarking his men on land, for should their business not succeed in the way he hoped in Our Lord that it would, if the Chinese were in opposition to the king of Malaca in the matter, they might hereafter be ill treated by the king for the part they had taken.

The Chinese replied, that seeing he would not accept their services, they begged him very much of his kindness to grant them permission to go away to their own land, and wherever they might encounter Portuguese, those should be ever remembered for the favour he had done

[1] *Barcas.*

them in letting them depart at liberty and get away from such a bad set of people as the Malays were; and if Malaca should fall into his power, they would undertake that every year more than one hundred junks should come there with great quantity of merchandise; and with very courteous words they told him to take very good advice before he attacked the city, for there were inside it more than twenty thousand fighting men, Javanese, Persians, and Coraçones, men in whom the king reposed the greatest confidence; while of the natives, the king could have as many soldiers as he wished; and he had twenty war elephants, with their castles well armed, and plenty of artillery and arms of every kind, which the Guzarates had brought for him from Cambaya, and as for all other things necessary for the war, he was not in need of anything; and unless the city were taken by starvation (though the inhabitants had provided even for this contingency), by stopping the supplies which came to her from Jaoa, they thought it very doubtful if any victory could be obtained against her; therefore they told him this, because they would be very sorry to see him in any peril.

Afonso Dalboquerque told them that he thanked them very much for their advice, but he was already quite determined to undertake the matter; and even if the king of Malaca's power were great, still greater was the power of God, for whose faith they were fighting; that he begged they would stay there a few more days to see what end came to Malaca, and then carry news to the king of China of all that might take place; and he would send them a galley in which they could be drawn up close by the place of disembarkation, so as to see the great spirit with which the Portuguese would attack the city, and their manner of fighting. The Chinese did as Afonso Dalboquerque ordered, and, with great concern that he would not have them serve him in that enterprise, went away to their ships and sent him the barques.

As soon as the Chinese had gone away, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned a meeting of all the captains, fidalgos, and noble persons of the fleet, and recounted what had passed between him and the Chinese, and told them how much he took it to heart that these Chinese had declared to him that they looked upon the impending undertaking as of doubtful result, and, in order to get over his affront, he had made up his mind to attack the city before they set out for China, and erect therein a fortress of convenient dimensions, with determination to maintain it, for this was what would conduce most to the service of the king their Lord; because, if they did not accomplish this, it was of little profit to stake very much upon the chance of capturing the city, seeing that Malaca was the principal seaport of the whole world, and thither resorted Moors from all parts in search for spiceries, especially from Cairo and Méca; as well as all the inhabitants of places to the eastward of the gates of the Straits. And these Malays were the people who did the most harm to the trade of India, so much so that the ships of Portugal, that were thither bound, ran great risk of being lost, unless it were a fleet of very large numbers, well provided with men and munitions of war. At all these things he begged them to look, and tell him, when their minds were quite made up, what they would have him do; because, if they did not consider it advisable to construct a fortress, he would not jeopardise the life of a single cabin-boy for all the Moors that there were in Malaca.

The captains, after many debates held concerning this matter, declared to him that they did not doubt that the service of the king would be furthered by their constructing a fortress in Malaca, with a view of securing the commerce of those parts, but the business would have to be undertaken when he had everything ready that was required, so that he could accomplish it in a short space of time; and that his plan should be to attack the city and inflict a

punishment upon the king for his misdeeds, and overcome that pride which he had manifested; and, if after the capture of the city, the necessary materials for the construction of the fortress could be got together, they then could make it, provided that they did not let the proper time slip away for their returning to the assistance of India.

Afonso Dalboquerque approved of this opinion which the captains had arrived at, and dismissed them to their ships to make ready against the time when he should let them know the day he had selected for the attack upon the city.

CHAPTER XXII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, on the morning of St. James's day, attacked the city of Malaca, and what passed thereupon.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque was so devoted to the Apostle St. James, that after it had been agreed by all that the city should be attacked, he delayed the completion of his preparations for some days, with the object of putting his hands to this work on that saint's day, for he trusted that through the prayers and merits of the saint, Our Lord would give them victory over it, as He had done in the capture of Goa. And when the time was come, he summoned the captains and declared to them that he was determined to attack the city upon the following day, which was the day of the Apostle Saint James, and it was necessary, before doing so, to discuss where and in what order they must disembark, in order that every one should know what duty was assigned to him.

The captains began to give their opinions, but as there were various opinions among them, so that some said the attack should be made on one side and others on the other, Afonso Dalboquerque desired, before any final decision should be made, that Ruy de Araujo, who had consider-

able experience concerning the land,[1] should give his opinion.

Ruy de Araujo declared that in his opinion they ought first to attack the bridge before anything else, for if they took that and made themselves strong in it, our people would be placed just between the city and the inhabitants of Upe, and the power of the king divided into two parts; for one could not render any assistance to the other except by means of the bridge, which one hundred men, with small barricades that they could set up in it, could defend against every forcible attempt of the Moors that might be made; but if the attack upon the city were made at any other parts, as some of the Lords who were there present advised, Malaca was of such a size and possessed so many fighting men in her population, that he, for his part, held the matter as very doubtful of success, and all would run a risk of being lost.

Without listening to any further advice, as soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had heard Ruy de Araujo's words, he agreed with the opinion he gave, and immediately gave orders that the captains, with their men in two battalions, should proceed to attack the bridge. D. João de Lima, Gaspar de Paiva, Fernão Perez Dandrade, Sebastião de Miranda, Fernão Gomez de Lemos, Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, and James Teixeira, with other fidalgos and soldiers of the fleet, to disembark on the side of the mosque; while he himself, with Duarte da Silva, Jorge Nunes de Lião, Simão Dandrade, Aires Pereira, João de Sousa, Antonio Dabreu, Pero Dalpoem, Dinis Fernandez de Melo, Simão Martinz, Simão Afonso, and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, with all the rest of the armed forces, would disembark on the city side; and after an entry had been effected through the stockades, one and all were to rush on towards the middle

[1] Compare this with what is written of Ruy de Araujo at the end of chapter xxiv, p. 111.

of the bridge, until they could estimate the strength of the enemy and in what direction their spirit led them, for in an affair of which they had not yet seen the result, he could not come to any other determination than ordering this only, that where they saw his flag flying, there all should concentrate themselves.

Having given these orders, he dismissed the captains to go and get ready, and on the following day, when they heard a trumpet sounded, come on board his ship so as to set forth therefrom.

Two hours before the break of day Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the trumpet to be blown, in order to awaken them, and they embarked immediately with all the rest of the men-at-arms and went on board his ship, and when a general confession had been made, all set out together and came to the mouth of the river just as morning broke, and attacked the bridge, each battalion in the order which had been assigned to it.

Then the Moors began to fire upon them with their artillery, which was posted in the stockades, and with their large matchlocks[1] wounded some of our men.

As soon as the first fury of their artillery was spent, the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave order for the trumpets to be blown, and with a war-cry of "Sanctiago", *i.e.*, "Saint James", they all, with one accord, fell upon the stockades of the bridge, each battalion in its proper place, and from on this side and on that an infinite number of Moors rushed up, some with bows and arrows, and others with long lances, and shields like those of Biscay, blowing their horns[2] and trumpets, and for a good space of time they fought very bravely, and defended the stockades; but our men, who had disembarked on the side of the mosque, by dint of arms

[1] *Espingardões*; the *espingardão* was probably a large kind of *espingarda*, or matchlock, a word of frequent use throughout the text of the *Commentaries*.

[2] *Anafis*.

forced their way through them;[1] and at this very moment the king of Malaca came up mounted upon an elephant, and his son upon another, with a body of armed men, and elephants armed with wooden castles, containing many warlike engines, and compelled the Moors to return to the stockades which they had deserted.

D. João de Lima, Fernão Perez Dandrade, and all the others who were in that company were inspired with fresh vigour at the sight of the king, and without any fear of his elephants attacked the Moors in so spirited a manner, that they got possession of the mosque immediately. Afonso Dalboquerque, who remained on the side nearest to the city with all the other captains and men, attacked the bridge on that side, and although his division met with great resistance by reason of the presence there of a large part of the force which had accompanied the king, very well armed, many of them with bows, others carrying blowing tubes[2] with poisoned arrows, wherewith they wounded a great many of his men, nevertheless anxiously emulating the captains of the other battalion who had by this time become masters of the mosque and the head of the bridge, they fell upon the Moors so bravely that they got into their stockades by force of arms, and killed many of them, and put them to flight. On our side many were wounded, and some died of the poisoned arrows.

[1] ...... *e defendêram as estancias; mas os nossos, que eram daquella banda da mesquita, por força darmas os entráram*; there is probably a typographical error in the latter part of this extract, for the *os* before *entráram* refers to *estancias*, and should be *as* to agree with this word.

[2] *Zarvatanas com setas ervadas*; this word is also written *Sarabatana*, and *Zaracatana*, by Vieyra, who calls it "a sort of speaking trumpet".

CHAPTER XXIII.

How Tuão Bandão, captain of the king of Malaca, perceiving the dispersion of the Moors, went to their assistance with a body of soldiers, and what passed thereupon; and how the king took to flight, and our men pursued him.

No sooner did Tuão Bandão, captain of the king of Malaca, who held a stockade on the bridge, bedecked with flags of his colours, perceive the discomfiture of the Moors, than he sallied out with seven hundred Javanese, and other two captains with him, and went to reinforce the bridge on the city side, with the intention of falling on our men in the rear. When Afonso Dalboquerque caught sight of them coming along one of the principal streets of the city, he dispatched from his company João de Sousa, Antonio Dabreu, and Aires Pereira in command of their men, with orders to fall upon the advancing body, and this they did so rapidly, that before the Moors could get up as far as the stockades, they fell upon them with the lance with such impetuosity that they made them turn and fly.

D. João de Lima, and other captains who were on the side of the mosque, when they saw these Moors, ran up to attack them in front, and there and then killed several of the body. The others, perceiving themselves cut off in front and in rear, all threw themselves into the sea. And the mariners, who were in the boats, came up without a moment's delay and put them all to death, so that not a single man was left, their captain, Tuão Bandão, being already dead, as well as the two captains who had set out with him; and when they had accomplished this business they went back to the stockades.

D. João de Lima, and the others who formed his company, seeing, after they had established themselves in the stockades, that the king was retiring by a side path up the hill,

set out in pursuit after him, fighting with the Moors at every step. The king and his son, who were mounted upon their elephants, saw that they were pursued by our men, turned back again with two thousand men whom they carried in their company. The Portuguese captains awaited their coming at the head of a street, and with great efforts and brave determination fell upon the elephants with their lances, as they were coming on in the vanguard, and it is related that Fernão Gomez de Lemos was the foremost in this action; and whereas elephants will not bear with being wounded, they turned tail and charged the Moors behind them and put them to rout. The elephant on which the king was riding, mad with the mortal wound which it had received, seized the black man who was guiding it with its trunk, and roaring loudly, dashed him in pieces, and the king being already wounded in the hand, sprang out of the castle, but escaped because he was not recognised; and thus he and his son, and the king of Pão,[1] his son-in-law, who had come to Malaca but a few days before to marry one of the king's daughters, retreated to the back of the city.

Afonso Dalboquerque, with the rest of his men,—having forced an entrance through the stockades,—followed up after the Moors along a street which led to the bridge, and killed many of them; but because the men of the city, who were fighting in the streets with our forces, were very numerous, Afonso Dalboquerque, fearing lest his party should begin to straggle, made them rally towards the bridge, and ordered them to erect a palisade on the city side; and gave charge over it to Jorge Nunez de Lião and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, with orders for them to command one of the principal streets leading to the bridge with their artillery.

When the Moors saw this they gathered themselves to-

[1] This word is written *Pam* in the previous chapters.

gether in the other streets of the city, and Afonso Dalboquerque feeling himself at length free of them, gave orders that another palisading should be erected on the side towards the mosque, starting from the river to reach up to the mosque, in such a manner that the bridge remained in the middle [between this palisade and the one mentioned above]. And while these palisadings were in progress of formation, he sent Gaspar de Paiva with a hundred men to set fire to the city from that side as soon as the sea-breeze should begin to blow, and Simão Martinz with another party of a hundred men, to set fire to the king's houses which stood at the side of the mosque. When the fire gained possession of one part and the other, it raged so fiercely that it destroyed a great part of the city. As soon as the Moors beheld the flames, they retired a long way off from our men.

Here was burnt a wooden house, of very large size and very well built with joiners' work, about thirty palms breadth solid timber, all inlaid with gold, built up on thirty wheels, every one of which was as large as a hogshead, and it had a spire, which was the finishing-point of the building, of great height, covered with silken flags, and the whole of it hung with very rich silken stuffs, for it had been prepared for the reception of the king of Pão and his bride, the daughter of the king of Malaca, who were to make their entry through the city with great blowings of trumpets and festivities; and in the houses of the king, and the other houses round about, which were burned, there was consumed by fire a great store of merchandise and other things of great price, which the king had in his palace. And when this was completed, they returned again to the bridge where our men were stationed; and it was about two hours after midday, and as yet the men had not eaten anything.

The captains, to whom Afonso Dalboquerque had en-

trusted the duty of constructing the stockades, went to him and told him that the men, being tired, and suffering from the great heat, were by this time quite out of heart with their work, and they recommended that they should withdraw and take some rest. Afonso Dalboquerque put them off, for he hoped to get the barricades completed, and so pass the night there; but because they came again with more earnestness to press this, he made a virtue of the necessity; and, the sun being now gone down, he began to draw off his men to the boats. When the Moors perceived that they were withdrawing, they began to open fire with large matchlocks, arrows, and blowing-tubes, and wounded some of our men, yet with all the haste they made Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the men to carry off with them fifty large bombards that had been captured in the stockades upon the bridge; and when the men had returned to the ships, he ordered the wounded to be attended to—about seventy in number—but of those who were struck with the poisoned arrows, none escaped but one, Fernão Gomez de Lemos, who was burned with a red-hot iron directly he was struck, so that ultimately God spared his life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How the king of Malaca, after the Portuguese had withdrawn to their ships, began to reconstruct the stockades and fortified his position on the bridge; and of the message which Utemutaraja sent to the great Afonso Dalboquerque.

Directly that all had retired into the ships, the king ordered that the stockades should be reconstructed, and made stronger than they had been before, and placed in them double the quantity of artillery, of which there was a great supply in Malaca, as will be related hereafter, and ordered the bridge to be divided into sections with very strong

palisades, and erect others in one of the principal streets leading from the city to the bridge, and in them he placed much artillery, and on the other side of the mosque he did just the same, and on the shore side, where the landing-place was situate, he ordered his men to throw down many *chevaux-de-frise*, full of poison,[1] to prick our men when they made their landing. And because the Javanese, who composed the principal soldiery under his command, were discontented at not receiving their pay, in order to content them, he ordered that they should be paid all that was due to them of their pay, and three months in advance as well, for he was in great dread lest Afonso Dalboquerque should return again to attack the city. And while he was thus occupied with the fortifying of his stockades, a Javanese headman, who was called Utemutaraja,[2] who lived in the settlement of Upe, and had about five or six thousand Javanese slaves of his own or of his sons and sons-in-law, a very rich man, and one who traded very extensively to all parts of the world, sent a present of sandal woods to Afonso Dalboquerque, and secretly begged a safeguard for himself and for all that settlement wherein he lived, declaring that he desired to have peace and friendship with him, and to serve the king of Portugal in all that lay in his power.

Afonso Dalboquerque accepted his offer of friendship, and sent him the safeguard and sometimes some presents, always striving to keep him on our side. Now, although the agreement which had been made with this man stipulated that he should give no assistance, and show no favour to the king of Malaca, after three days, Afonso Dalboquerque sent and told him that he had been informed that after

[1] *Mandou lançar muitos abrolhos, cheios de herva*, etc. The word *herva* is used in the concluding sentence of the previous chapter in the signification of *poisonous juice of herbs*; but in this passage, although I prefer the translation I give above, there is a possibility of the word being used in the sense of grass or prickly brushwood.

[2] The latter part of this name is evidently the titular designation *rajah*.

he had sent him the safeguard, he was nevertheless helping the king with his men to make the stockades on the bridge, which was not the thing that they both had agreed upon, neither was it according to the law of friendship for him to favour his enemies against him. Utemutaraja replied, that it was true he was rendering certain assistance of men to the king for constructing the stockades, but it was insignificant, and he only did so to put him off his guard, for by no other means could he live in this, to him, a foreign land, unless he performed this service.

But with all this provocation, Afonso Dalboquerque did not cease to adhere to his promise of safeguard, and ordered his captains that upon the inhabitants of the territory of Utemutaraja they should make no requisition; and this he did, not because he had deserved any better treatment than the others, but in order to have a fewer number of enemies in the city. And so also he gave the foreign Moorish merchants to understand, that he had not ordered a sacking of the city out of regard for them; yet, nevertheless, if the king would not give way in his opinions, he, on his part, could not restrain his men from destroying the city when they made a second attack upon it. And so from that time henceforward the merchants were the men who counselled the king not to desire war, but to come to terms, and make peace with Afonso Dalboquerque. But, as the king was now obstinately bent on his purpose, he did not fall in with their opinion, but told them that only a few days back they had given him exactly the opposite advice.

When a few days had elapsed, Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing that the king had not sent him any reply, though he had already tasted the power and capability of the Portuguese, became anxious, for he was forcibly compelled for a second time to risk his men in a danger like the past, to the end that he might achieve the taming of the king's pride; and he had not in the land any means of building a fortress

—which it was his chief intent to do—neither could Ruy de Araujo give any advice on these events, for all the time he had been in captivity he had been shut up in a house. And, on the other hand, he saw that leaving Malaca in the power of the Moors meant total destruction to the trade of India and to our ships. And with these perplexed thoughts, which were constantly present in his mind, not knowing in what kind of conclusion this enterprise against Malaca would result, he placed everything in the hands of Our Lord, for this was always the best remedy that he could find in all his affairs; and, putting his trust in Him, he began to give orders and make himself ready in some matters which were needful for the second attack upon the city.

CHAPTER XXV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque prepared himself for renewing the attack upon the stockades which the king had set upon the bridge: and how the Chinese desired of him permission to return to their land: and of the ambassador whom he sent with them to the king of Sião.

When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the king, because of the little account he made of the Portuguese—not taking to heart the lesson of experience which he had had the first day they attacked the city—was again setting up stockades on the bridge, with men and artillery for its defence, he determined in his invincible mind to attack it again, and break their pride; and, with this object in view, he prepared a large junk, with many men and artillery,—because these vessels are very lofty,—and it was to be placed in a position overtowering the bridge, in order that our men might avail themselves of its shelter, and more securely be able to attack the stockades which the Moors had built. And he appointed Antonio Dabreu captain of the junk, and

ordered him to arrange in it lodging-places for the soldiers, and provisions and all other things that were necessary for that affair. For, if any great rain-storm should occur, they could take shelter in it, and the supplies, of which they were in great need, would not be lost. And for guard over this junk he appointed a *caravela,* whereof Simão Afonso was captain, and the great galley in which Duarte da Silva went as captain, for its protection. And when all this was ready he told Antonio Dabreu to sail up along the river and pass over a spit of sand which lay before the bridge, while he himself, with all the rest of the men, would follow up close behind. But because the junk drew very deeply in the water, and could not pass over the spit on account of the neap tide, Afonso Dalboquerque desired, in order not to lose any more time, to send another junk with less draught of water, but this also could not pass over, so he was compelled to wait for the spring tide.[1]

When the king of Malaca saw that the junk could not pass the sand-bank, and that for all that it remained there, and did not go back again, he sent four barges full of firewood, and pitch, and oil, to set it on fire, and as soon as the tide began to run down they set them on fire, and let them go on the turn of the tide down the river straight towards the junk, and this they did for nine successive nights.

Now, as Afonso Dalboquerque observed the order in which the Moors arranged themselves for the burning of the junk, he ordered the captains, when they had withdrawn each night, to make their arrangements for sleeping close by him in their boats, and with bowsprits and harpoons hung with iron chains to turn the fire-ships out of their course as they came on in flames, so as to prevent the junk from catching fire; and they carried out this order so well that this design of the Moors was of no effect. And while this delay was going on, waiting for the spring tides, Afonso

[1] Spring tides rise 11 feet, neaps 8½ feet, at Malacca in the Roads.—*China Sea Directory*, vol. i, p. 79, 1878.

Dalboquerque ordered the iron-smiths, whom he had brought from Goa, to set up their forges and begin to repair some weapons which were out of order, and they made a magazine for the crossbows, for they were in much need of it. And he ordered the Factor of the Fleet to get ready barrels,[1] hatchets, hoes, picks, and all that was requisite, in order that when they had gained the bridge they might immediately set up stockades therein, and to arrange for the construction of mantlets, to the end that under shelter of them our men might go in better security from the enemy's bombards, and when all was completed and ready, to cause everything to be embarked on board of the large barques and junks which he had taken.

And because Afonso Dalboquerque had been informed that the King had determined, as soon as our men disembarked, to send down a number of watchboats and many launches by night to set fire to our Fleet, he ordered Pero Gonçalves, the Chief Pilot, with all the mariners, to go and sleep on board the ships every night, and he would give orders for a good look out to be kept over them, for if any alarm should occur he could render assistance if required.

While Afonso Dalboquerque was engaged in arranging all these matters the Chinese Captains went to him and begged his permission for their departure, inasmuch as the season of their monsoon had arrived, and they begged also that he would of his kindness give permission likewise for their taking a little pepper which they had in their ships belonging to a Moorish merchant, a native of Malaca, from whom they had received very good treatment; and to do them a kindness he granted this permission, and gave orders that they should have given to them all the supplies which they needed for their voyage, and made them a present of a few things which he yet had left from Portugal, and desired them (seeing they were bent on going), to shape

[1] *Pipas.*

their course for Sião, for he wished to send in their company a messenger with letters for the King.

They were very happy at this result, and promised him that they would present the messenger to the King and return very soon with the reply, and would highly extol the prowess of the Portuguese and the little dread they had of encountering the enemy's bombards.

Afonso Dalboquerque lost no time in making ready Duarte Fernandez, who had been in captivity with Ruy de Araujo and knew the language very well, and by him he wrote to the King of Sião of the events which had taken place in Malaca, and how his determination was to destroy the city and build therein a fortress, and cast the Moors out, and how pleased he would be if the people of his land [of Sião] would come and live it, and that the King D. Manuel, King of Portugal, his Lord, having been informed that he was a Hindoo and not a Moor, had much affection for him and desired to have peace and friendship with him, and had ordered him [Afonso Dalboquerque], as to all the ships and people of that kingdom desirous of trading in his ports, that he was to grant them all the safeguard that they found necessary. And by this Duarte Fernandez he sent the King of Sião one of our swords, all mounted in gold and precious stones, made after our fashion; and Duarte Fernandez having been thus despatched, the Chinese set forth for their own land highly pleased with Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The speech which the great Afonso Dalboquerque made to the Captains and men of the Fleet for the second attack upon the city, and what passed thereupon.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had all things ready that were necessary for attacking the city again, it

was reported to him that there were some among the Captains who were in the habit of saying that they did not think it of service to the King for them to maintain the city nor to build a fortress within it. On being apprised of this he ordered them to be called to his ship, with all the Fidalgos and Cavaliers of the Fleet, and said to them :—[1]

"Sirs, you will have no difficulty in remembering that when we decided upon attacking this city, it was with the determination of building a fortress within it, for so it appeared to all to be necessary, and after having captured it I was unwilling to let slip the possession of it, yet, because ye all advised me to do so, I left it, and withdrew; but being ready, as you see, to put my hands upon it again once more, I learned that you had already changed your opinion: now this cannot be because the Moors have destroyed the best part of us, but on account of my sins, which merit the failure of accomplishing this undertaking in the way that I had desired. And, inasmuch as my will and determination is, as long as I am Governor of India, neither to fight nor to hazard men on land, except in those parts

[1] Correa's version of this speech, which is given in the *Lendas da India*, vol. ii, pp. 232-234, is worthy of perusal here as showing how the two reports of the same event, each professing to be derived from authentic sources, differ from each other: "Senhores capitães, e nobres fidalgos, bem sabem vossas mercês que todo o estado d'El Rey nosso senhor depende e está posto nas vossas mãos, em que está muy seguro de nom receber quebra, nem falta, em quanto as vidas tiverdes nos corpos; do que darão bom testimunho os que viverem, e eu, que o tenho bem visto com meus olhos, nunqua poderei dizer os grandes vossos merecimentos ganhados com vosso sangue e tantos trabalhos, a que El Rey nosso senhor vos he em muyta obrigaç o, e satisfação que Sua Alteza nom faltará. Bem sabem vossas mercês que nós hiamos pera o estreito de Meca, a que nos Sua Alteza mandava hir, com intento de sequar aquella navegação, e passagem da pimenta e drogas que os mouros lá passavão, que lhe fazem grande avesso a seus tratos; ao que nos hiamos com toda' vontade, e polo querer de Nosso Senhor tivemos contrastes de ventos que nom consentirão que lá fossemos, e arribamos com tanto trabalho, e porque se nom perdesse o gasto que era feito n' armada, per

wherein I must build a fortress to maintain them, as I have already told you before this, I desire you earnestly, of your goodness, although you all have already agreed upon what is to be done, to freely give me again your opinions in writing as to what I ought to do; for inasmuch as I have to give an account of these matters and a justification of my proceedings to the King D. Manuel, our Lord, I am unwilling to be left alone to bear the blame of them; and although there be many reasons which I could allege in favour of our taking this city and building a fortress therein to maintain possession of it, two only will I mention to you, on this occasion, as tending to point out wherefore you ought not to turn back from what you have agreed upon.

"The first is the great service which we shall perform to Our Lord in casting the Moors out of this country, and quenching the fire of this sect of Mafamede so that it may never burst out again hereafter; and I am so sanguine as to hope for this from our undertaking, that if we can only achieve the task before us, it will result in the Moors resigning India altogether to our rule, for the greater part of them—or perhaps all of them—live upon the trade of this

conselho de vossas mercês bem atentado, foy assentado, pois tinhamos tempo, que viessemos esta viagem a Malaca, pera livrarmos os cativos, e tomar vingança d'esta cidade, dos mortos, e roubos que erão feitos; onde Nosso Senhor aquy nos aportou, e sobre bons conselhos avidos cometemos esta guerra, que está no esta do que vedes, com que bem certos estaes que a cidade será nossa polo querer de Nosso Senhor. Mas parece que averá algumas pessoas que farão duvida que sendo tomada nom será possivel fazer n'ella fortaleza e a sostermos, o que se assy nom fosse logo El Rey nosso senhor ficava com toda a perda, que são muytas; a saber: o gasto d'armada, perda de sua gente, e sobre tudo estas perdas sem nenhum fruito, que será grande sua perda, porque esta cidade he o celeiro de todolas drogas e riqas mercadarias, que os mouros de todas as partes da India e do estreito de Meca aquy vem buscar, e levão suas naos carregadas, e passão per antre as ilhas, e se colhem ao estreito muy seguro de os toparem nossas armadas, e as drogas que levão, que he grande soma, correm polo Cairo, e a Veneza, e d'ahy a ponente e levante, com que dão muyto abatimento ás drogas da casa da India, que vão ter a Frandes. Outras drogas passão a India, que nos vendem por tresdobro

country and are become great and rich, and lords of extensive treasures. It is, too, well worthy of belief that as the King of Malaca, who has already once been discomfited and had proof of our strength, with no hope of obtaining any succour from any other quarter—sixteen days having already elapsed since this took place—makes no endeavour to negotiate with us for the security of his estate, Our Lord is blinding his judgment and hardening his heart, and desires the completion of this affair of Malaca: for when we were committing ourselves to the business of cruising in the Straits [of the Red Sea] where the King of Portugal had often ordered me to go (for it was there that His Highness considered we could cut down the commerce which the Moors of Cairo, of Méca, and of Judá, carry on with these parts), Our Lord for his service thought right to lead us hither, for when Malaca is taken the places on the Straits must be shut up, and they will never more be able to introduce their spiceries into those places.

"And the other reason is the additional service which we shall render to the King D. Manuel in taking this city, because it is the headquarters of all the spiceries and drugs

do que aquy as comprão a troco de roupas de Cambaya que trazem; do qual trato de tantos anos os mouros de toda a India são grandes em muytas riquezas com que são senhores nas terras, e dos corações dos Reys e senhores, com a qual possança nos tem feitos tantos malles em Calecut, e por todolas partes da India, que se o poder grande d'estes mouros nom fôra, dormindo tiveramos a India debaixo dos pés. Pois que mór serviço podemos fazer a Nosso Senhor em favor de nossa santa fé senão punirmos estes mouros, e seus tratos aquy os confundirmos e apagarmos, que percão este tamanho bem como lhe aquy tomamos? E pois está tão manifesto que este serviço nom faremos, indaque tomemos esta cidade chea d'ouro, se a nom deixassemos segura com segura forteleza, que durasse pera sempre este tamanho serviço de Nosso Senhor, e d'El Rey, e seus vassallos que n'estas partes militamos; tomaremos estes tratos, com que nos faremos riquissimos assy como o estão os mouros, e com lhe assy tomarmos seus proveitos os hiremos deitando fóra da India, que será quando a Nosso Senhor aprouver.

"E pois tomando nós agora esta cidade, com sua tanta riqueza, será pera nós grande honra e proveito, e d'El Rey nosso senhor, que nos

which the Moors carry every year hence to the Straits without our being able to prevent them from so doing; but if we deprive them of this their ancient market there, there does not remain for them a single port, nor a single situation, so commodious in the whole of these parts, where they can carry on their trade in these things. For after we were in possession of the pepper of Malabar, never more did any reach Cairo, except that which the Moors carried thither from these parts, and forty or fifty ships, which sail hence every year laden with all sorts of spiceries bound to Méca, cannot be stopped without great expense and large fleets, which must necessarily cruise about continually in the offing of Cape Comorim; and the pepper of Malabar, of which they may hope to get some portion because they have the King of Calicut on their side, is in our hands, under the eyes of the Governor of India, from whom the Moors cannot carry off so much with impunity as they hope to do; and I hold it as very certain that if we take this trade of Malaca away out of their hands, Cairo and Méca are entirely ruined, and to Venice will no spiceries be conveyed except that which her merchants go and buy in Portugal.

mantêm, e sostem nossas gerações, e com seu tanto gasto aquy somos aportados com esta armada, e com os poderes d'ella ganhâmos, e El Rey tudo ficaria perdendo se lhe nom dessemos premicias do seu gasto e nossa obrigação, que lhe forçadamente devemos, que ha de ser aquy lhe fazermos sua forteleza com nossos trabalhos, porque possamos dizer que ganhámos esta cidade ás lançadas com nosso sangue, e lhe entregamos arrematada pera sempre em seu serviço, pedindolhe que este tamanho serviço nos pague a nossos filhos e gerações, do que elle se nom poderá escusar; tudo, senhores, vos he presente, porque cada hum por seu assinado me ha de dar sua determinação, pera me eu livrar ante Sua Alteza de quem me accusar. Pera que sem duvida lhes affirmo que indaque n'esta hora Malaca se me entregasse, com toda sua riqueza, a não tomaria se n'ella nom ouver de fazer a milhor, e mais forte, e possante forteleza que ouver n'estes partes; pois Malaca he a mais populosa cidade da India, que está no meo e estremo de todolas riqas mercadarias e tratos que por ella correm. E pois, senhores, tudo lhe tenho apresentado, vossas mercês agora se determinem no que façamos, porque eu nada hey de fazer, senão o que per elles for assentado."

"But if you are of opinion that, because Malaca is a large city and very populous, it will give us much trouble to maintain our possession of it, no such doubts as these ought to arise, for when once the city is gained, all the rest of the Kingdom is of so little account that the King has not a single place left where he can rally his forces; and if you dread lest by taking the city we be involved in great expenses, and on account of the season of the year there be no place where our men and our Fleet can be recruited, I trust in God's mercy that when Malaca is held in subjection to our dominion by a strong fortress, provided that the Kings of Portugal appoint thereto those who are well experienced as Governors and Managers of the Revenues, the taxes of the land will pay all the expenses which may arise in the administration of the city; and if the merchants who are wont to resort thither—accustomed as they are to live under the tyrannical yoke of the Malays—experience a taste of our just dealing, truthfulness, frankness, and mildness, and come to know of the instructions of the King D. Manuel, our Lord, wherein he commands that all his subjects in these parts be very well treated, I venture to affirm that they will all return and take up their abode in the city again, yea, and build the walls of their houses with gold; and all these matters which here I lay before you may be secured to us by this half-turn of the key, which is that we build a fortress in this city of Malaca and sustain it, and that this land be brought under the dominion of the Portuguese, and the King D. Manuel be styled true king thereof, and therefore I desire you of your kindness to consider seriously the enterprise that ye have in hand, and not to leave it to fall to the ground."

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had brought his harangue to an end in the words which I have recounted, the Members of the council held among themselves divers opinions, some leaning to this, and others to that side, and

the result of the meeting was that the majority again declared that it would be of service to the King to take the city of Malaca and cast the Moors out of it, and build a fortress therein. The others were of a contrary opinion, and declared that the city ought not to be again attacked, for it was very doubtful if the undertaking could be accomplished, and that the vengeance which had been meted out to the Moors for their treatment of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira and his men was sufficiently severe, and even if they had all things necessary for the construction of the fortress there was not time enough for its completion, for they were already at the beginning of the monsoon, and it was absolutely necessary to support India, for no one could tell how affairs at Goa had gone on since they had set out from that city.

Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving these differences of opinion which were held in the council, yielded to the majority and resolved to attack the city and fortify himself in it, and as for all other doubts which were raised by the opposite party, to put them into the hands of Our Lord Jesus Christ that He might order them all as best to his service, and he commanded that a formal resolution should be drawn up by the Secretary, whereunto he put his signature, as did also all the Captains, Fidalgos, and Cavaliers who were there.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque again attacked the city according to the resolution which had been arrived at, and how he entered the bridge by force of arms and fortified himself on it.

Having taken the opinions of the Captains, Fidalgos, and Cavaliers of the Fleet, under their signatures, as I have related, the great Afonso Dalboquerque made up his mind to attack the city, and taking it, by the aid of our Lord, to

fortify himself therein. And because the Moors were in an advanced state of preparation, and had arranged a better system of defence than they had on the first occasion when our men made an entry into the city, he decided with all the Captains to attack the bridge with his whole force in one company.

Having agreed upon this method of attack, all went away to their respective ships to get ready, waiting for the day when it would be high water in the spring tides, so that the junk could get up to the bridge; and when the time was come—on a Friday, two hours before morning—Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders for the signal which he had agreed upon, to wake them, and they, as they were already prepared, came on board his ship, and from it set forth all together in their boats; and when Antonio Dabreu in the junk had now arrived within a crossbow-shot from the bridge, the Moors began to open fire upon him from one side and the other with large matchlocks,[1] blowing tubes, and poisoned arrows; and with bombards which threw leaden shot as large as an *espera*[2] they swept the decks of the junk from one side and the other, and as Antonio Dabreu did not seek therein any place of safety where he could avoid the shots which they kept on pouring into the junk, he was the first who was hit with a bullet from a large matchlock, which struck him on the jaw and carried away many of his teeth and part of his tongue.

Afonso Dalboquerque, who was in his boat close by the junk, seeing Antonio Dabreu wounded, ordered him, more by force than by his own wish, to be taken to the ship to have his wounds dressed, and appointed Pero Dalpoem to go on board the junk and act as Captain of it until Antonio Dabreu was well again. When the delay that had thus arisen had

[1] *Espingardões.*

[2] *Espera* or *Esfera*, an ancient kind of artillery—*Bluteau*, s.v. But see also vol. ii, p. 129, note 5.

passed away—not much time having been wasted—they went on again a second time with the junk leading the way, in the order which they had appointed, and when the junk drew up alongside, as it was very lofty and quite overhung the bridge, as I have already said, the Moors, not being able to bear the severe handling which our men gave them from the round top of the mainmast[1] with many canisters of gunpowder, and darts,[2] and matchlocks, fled, deserting the bridge, and withdrew to the stockades which they had on the bridge, on this side and that.

Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving that the Moors were beginning to fall into confusion, ordered the Captains to press on more quickly at the oars, and all united in a body set to work to fall upon the stockades, according to the preconcerted arrangement. And although they found behind them a great force of Moors, who defended them for a considerable space of time with signal bravery, nevertheless our men got into the stockades and routed those who held them. In this affair of entering, many of our men were wounded and two or three killed, but it was at the cost of many Moors, who there lost their lives; and Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing himself now master of the bridge, remained where he was quietly with his flag and a part of his force, and gave orders to certain of the Captains to go and take the mosque, and to others to attack some palisades which the Moors had set up at the mouth of a street which led to the bridge, and that neither the one party or the other should leave their stations without his express orders.

When the Captains arrived at the palisades, although they met with some amount of resistance, yet they bore themselves so valiantly that they discomfited the Moors and got possession of the works. The others, however, to whose lot it fell to assault the mosque, found they had a heavy and

[1] *De cima da gavea*; see Jal, *Glossaire Nautique*, s.v. *Gavea*.

[2] *Lanças de arremeço*.

troublesome task before them, for in that place of defence there was the King with a large body of men and elephants, and the defence was maintained so vigorously that a considerable space of time elapsed without our men being able to get in. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing from the bridge the circumstances in which our men were situated, made his way with all haste at the head of all his forces to succour them, and because at the mouth of a large street which led to the mosque, where he was, there were many Moors pressing on the flanks of certain Captains that were following the King, who was in flight with three thousand men armed with shields, he stayed himself there with his flag and his men, and sent the Captains word to remain quiet and rally towards the position he had taken up, for there were yet many Moors on their flanks, and then they withdrew at once; and as soon as the junction of these forces had been carried out, Afonso Dalboquerque left in charge over the mosque and stockades Jorge Nunez de Lião, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, James Teixeira, and Dinis Fernandez de Melo, with some of the men, while he himself, with the rest that remained, returned towards the bridge; and he ordered the Captains who were stationed on one side and on the other to stay where they were and not fight with the Moors, even if they came on and attacked them, until he had fortified the bridge; and ordered four large barques which he had, with great bombards, to pass over to the other side and sweep the field on one side and on the other, and cause the Moors to keep off so that the men could more securely work at the stockades; and having arranged this he ordered them to take out of the junk all the munitions which he had brought, and began upon the stockades; and as all went to work with willing hands, in a short space of time he had made two very strong palisades, one on the side of the city, the other on the side of the mosque, with barrels filled with earth, and wood, and he arranged in them many

guns: and ordered that the bridge and the junk should be covered with palm leaves, for the benefit of the men, for the sun was very strong and he was fearful lest they should all fall ill from the hard work they had to perform.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered relief to be given to our men who were stationed at the mouth of the street which led to the bridge: and how Utamutaraja and Ninachatu, and other merchants, seeing the overthrow of the city, came and placed themselves in his hands.

While the great Afonso Dalboquerque was thus occupied in this eagerness to complete the fortification of the stockades which he was making upon the bridge, he saw that the Captains whom he had ordered to take up positions at the mouths of the streets were undergoing, rather than disobey his commands, much discomfort from the attacks made upon them by the Moors with bombards which they had placed upon the terraces of their houses, and with matchlocks with which they were firing upon them, so he dispatched with great haste Gaspar de Paiva, Fernão Perez Dandrade, Pero Dalpoem, Antonio Dabreu, who was now by this time well of his wound in the jaw, to go and succour them with their men, along one of the streets of the city, and D. João de Lima, Aires Pereira, Simão Dandrade, Simão Martinz, and Simão Afonso, along another street which led up to a place where the Moors where at lance-thrusts with our men, and to patrol through all the city and not to give quarter to a single person they met, while he himself would come on behind them in support, with his royal standard; and although the Moors were very numerous, the Captains fell upon them so valiantly that, not being able to resist the fury of the onset with which they were attacked, they

turned their backs and threw themselves into flight, and some, indeed, among them, who were nearest to our men, cast themselves into the sea, thinking that thereby they ensured their safety.

The mariners, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had ordered to man the skiffs and row up and down the river, came up at once and put to death every one whom they could get at; and when it was sundown the Captains withdrew to the bridge, where they now had their stockades very strongly built on one side and on the other, and Afonso Dalboquerque took up his quarters in the middle, and they passed the whole of the night on the watch. And he ordered the Captains of the barques that were stationed in the river to keep up a continual fire upon the city all through the night with their bombards, and Pero Gonçalvez, chief pilot, to take all the seamen to the ships to sleep there, and carry out the same instructions regarding the cannonade, and in this manner they remained all night. And it was a terrible thing to look at the city, for on account of the constant firing it seemed as if it were all on fire.

When morning came, the Moors, terrified at the unexpected misfortune which they witnessed, dared not appear in the streets, and this went on for a period of ten days running without any cessation by night or by day, and during this time our men were continually spilling the blood of the Moors, for inasmuch as the hunger they suffered was extreme, they risked their lives to go and look for food in the city, and there they lost their lives. And when they perceived the troubles that had fallen upon them, and the great peril they were in of losing their lives, and the hopelessness of their case, some began to come to Afonso Dalboquerque and beg for mercy; and the first who came were the Pégus, and these he received very kindly and gave them a safeguard to enable them to prosecute their voyage, and permission to carry with them their property, and in

like manner he allowed all the merchants who came from Cape Comorim to the eastwards, who had no ships there, free exportation of their merchandize, and they began to start their trade again, and revive the navigation from their lands to Malaca, and this was the principal reason why he did so.

Utemutaraja, as I have already said, who had a safe-conduct from Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing the destruction of the city, and fearing that he should incur displeasure because his son had gone over to the assistance of the King against our men—although indeed he was well rewarded for it, for he was severely wounded and many of his men were killed—came and made excuses for the behaviour of his son, making a show of being highly delighted at the ruin which had fallen upon the King. He received him with benignity, but nevertheless gave orders to the Captains to go always armed with all their men, and keep a good look out, for there could be no reliance placed upon him. Ruy de Araujo, remembering the kindnesses which he and the other christians had received at the hands of Ninachatu, a Hindoo by nation, during their captivity, brought him to Afonso Dalboquerque, begging that he would show him favour and honour him, for he could not repay him in any other way for the kindness of the treatment he had experienced. Afonso Dalboquerque entertained him, and told him that he would promise, before he left for India, he should be rewarded in accordance with what Ruy de Araujo had said of him.

And when Afonso Dalboquerque found himself less troubled by the uproars which the Moors caused by day and night, and that there was no longer in the city any force which could resist them, and as a recompense for past labours, he gave permission to everyone to sack the city, and free power to keep or dispose of everything they took, only warning them not to touch the houses or the subter-

ranean storehouses[1] of Ninachatu. When the city had been sacked, certain merchants, who had fled away to their country houses, seeing the kind way in which Ninachatu had been treated, sent and begged a safe-conduct from Afonso Dalboquerque that they might come to the city; and he granted this to all, except the Malays, who were natives of the country, for as to these he gave orders that all should be put to death wheresoever they were found.

In this second time of taking the city, many of our men were wounded, and some of those who were wounded with poison died, but all the others were cured, because Afonso Dalboquerque took very good care to give orders for their cure, and of the Moors, women and children, there died by the sword an infinite number, for no quarter was given to any of them. Three thousand pieces of artillery were taken, and among them there were about two thousand in bronze, and one very large gun which the King of Calicut had sent to the King of Malaca. The rest were of iron, of the fashion of our *berços*, and all this artillery had its proper complement of carriages, which could not be rivalled even by that of Portugal. Large matchlocks, poisoned blowing tubes, bows, arrows, armour-plated dresses,[2] Javanese lances, and other sorts of weapons, it was marvellous what was taken, besides much merchandize of every kind.

[1] *Gudões.* Storehouses or rooms built partly above and partly under ground. For example, in Correa's account, when Afonso Dalboquerque laments that the fire will destroy the riches of the city:—"Se o fogo nos der a cidade, elle levará todo o bem que ella tem de riqueza, com que a gente ficaria com trabalho e sem proveito." Ruy d'Araujo lhe dixe: "Senhor, posto que se queime Malaca, inda o milhor ficará, que está nos gudões, *que são casas de pedra fortes e meas feitas debaixo do chão.*"—*Lendas da India,* tom. ii, p. 236. And again, during the progress of the sacking: "Os capitães, com suas quadrilhas de seus navios, ajuntavão e metião fato em grandes casas pera depois o mandarem embarquar. Estas fazendas estavão em casas *que tinhão meas feitas debaixo do chão, per cyma argamassadas por resguardo do fogo.*"—*Ib.*, p. 247.

[2] *Laudeis de laminas.*

All this, and more which I leave, not to be prolix, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered to be divided among the Captains and among all the people of the Fleet, without taking anything for himself, except six large lions in bronze which he took for his tomb, and the bracelet, which I have already described,[1] and young girls of all the races of that country, and some toys, all which he took to send them to the King D. Manuel and to the Queen D. Maria, but they were lost in the ship *Flor de la Mar*, on the voyage back to India, as I shall narrate hereafter.

Let not those who read this writing be astonished when I say that in Malaca were taken three thousand guns, for Ruy de Araujo and Ninachatu declared to Afonso Dalboquerque that there were eight thousand in Malaca, and this may well be believed, for in Malaca were much copper and much tin, and the gun founders were as good as those of Germany; on the other hand, the city was a league in length, and when Afonso Dalboquerque disembarked they aimed at him from on all sides, whence it appears that even this number was insignificant in comparison to what was required for the defence.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of how, after the Prince of Malaca had withdrawn from his father, he came to the river of Muar and fortified himself therein with a number of stockades, and the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent a force against him, and put him to flight.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, being desirous of setting the affairs of Malaca in order, determined to appoint Ninachatu, because he was a Hindoo, Governor of the Quilins[2]

[1] See pp. 61, 62.

[2] In the view of Malaca given by Correa, *Lendas da India*, vol. ii, p. 250. The "povoacã dos quyllȳs" is marked on the left of the city, and separated from it by a palisade. See also *supra*, p. 81, note 1.

and Chetins;[1] and in order to make the Moors more secure he made Utemutaraja their principal chief, and with these two men, as they were prominent persons, the people began to settle down quietly, and merchants, a few at a time, returned to the city; but with all this Afonso Dalboquerque did not put too much confidence in them, especially in Utemutaraja, and in order to get rid of this suspicion which he had, he tried all he could to get the king into his hands, and with this end in view he sent many boats up the river and along the coast to see if they could take him.

The king, owing to the constant alarms which arose every day, and knowing the desire which Afonso Dalboquerque had of getting possession of him, fearing lest his own people should deliver him up, drew himself off from the city, a day's journey, taking with him some Malay merchants and his captains and governors of the land, with the intention of keeping in that neighbourhood, waiting for his Lassamane, the Admiral of the Sea, whom he had sent to the Island of Lingá,[2] to convey to them a numerous fleet with many men, and in their company the King of that Island who was called Rajalingá,[3] who was subject to him, with determination of returning against the city; but this did not come to pass, for the Rajalingá, knowing that Afonso Dalboquerque was in possession of the city, did not dare to come; and the King of Malaca, being of the opinion that Afonso Dalboquerque simply meant to rob the city and then leave it and sail away with the spoil he might get out of it, kept about that place for a space of ten days, in expectation of the issue of these events. But when he was informed that Afonso Dalboquerque was beginning to establish a fortress of timber[4] wherein to shelter himself, and so

[1] See vol. ii, p. 130, note 2.

[2] Linga Island, Sumatra, 0 deg. 10 min. S., 104 deg. 45 min. E., lying to the south of Singapore.

[3] This name is evidently but a title, "The Rajah of Lingá".

[4] See p. 135.

acting as to shew his wish to make a settlement in Malaca with the intention of maintaining possession of it, terrified at this news, and not deeming himself safe in the locality where he then was, he went further off into the interior country, a distance of two days' march; and because the party was sharply pressed for want of provisions the Prince separated himself from his father and set out to pitch his settlement close to the river, and there he marked out some very strong stockades, and barred the river with a quantity of timber, so that our boats might not pass up to the place.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque was informed that the Prince of Malaca was fortifying his position on the river, he despatched Fernão Perez Dandrade, Simão Dandrade, his brother, Gaspar de Paiva, Francisco Sarram, Aires Pereira, Ruy de Araujo, and Jorge Nunez de Lião, with four hundred Portuguese soldiers, and six hundred Javanese who were given for the purpose by Utemutaraja, and the Pégu Captains with three hundred of their men, to take boats and launches up the river and put to rout that nest of robbers which was beginning to form itself there, and they did so; and when the expedition reached the stockade which the Prince had constructed, they began to root it up with machines which they took with them for this purpose, and when they had rooted it up, they pressed on to attack the enemy at their fortifications.

The Prince, when he saw the fleet and the determined spirit with which the men came on, struck his camp, without making the least show of resistance, and fled away to the place where the King was, which was about a day's journey distant, and our men entered in pell-mell into their buildings, and captured all that had been stored there which the Prince had been unable to remove; among their spoil his palanquins, very rich and gilded, and painted, and seven elephants, with their castles and housings; and having obtained this victory the force returned to the city.

When the Prince reached the place where the King his father was, there arose differences between them concerning the loss of Malaca, each one seeking to put off the fault from his own to the other's shoulders, and this dissension ran so high, that being thus divided in plans, and suffering also from the discomforts of famine, they departed and shaped their journey for the kingdom of Pão, through a region desert and marshy, mounted upon their elephants with their wives and children, taking with them fifty men whom they forced to accompany them in their flight.

CHAPTER XXX.

How the King of Malaca, after the Portuguese had gained the city from him, withdrew to the kingdom of Pão, and dispatched an Ambassador to the King of China, begging for succour.

The King of Malaca, having arrived at the kingdom of Pão, and seeing that there was no remedy for his misfortunes, determined to dispatch an Ambassador to the King of China, begging for succour, that he might be enabled to recover the city which he had lost, reminding him, with the object of obtaining a favourable reply to this request, of the ancient friendship which the Kings of Malaca had always kept up with those of China, and of the obedience which they had shown them as their vassals; and in order to give a greater appearance of authenticity to this embassy, he desired that it should be accompanied by one of his uncles, whose name was Tuão[1] Nacem Mudaliar, in whom he reposed the highest confidence; and he, after receiving his order to depart, went and proceeded to embark at the river of Muar,[2] whence he set sail in a junk with his wife, accompanied with certain Moors in his retinue; and when he

[1] This is the common Malay word for Lord or Master.

[2] The river in Malaca, on which the city of Pahang or Pào is built.

reached the city of Cantão,[1] which is the port of China whither all those who sail to those parts are accustomed to make land, the Governors of that city—in accordance with the ancient custom which they keep up—immediately sent off a messenger to the King, who was in the interior a distance of a hundred and eighty leagues, giving him notice of the arrival of the Ambassador of the King of Malaca, and asking that word of the King's pleasure as to what should be done might be sent, for the custom of China is that not a single stranger can pass beyond that port nor go to the King without his permission.

The messenger whom the Governor despatched reached the city of Pequim,[2] where the king was, and delayed on the journey two months, and then returned with the reply to the Governors, to the effect that they were to permit the ambassador, with the retinue in his company, to pass through the kingdom, and to give them everything that they required for their journey. When the ambassador received this reply, he lost no time in making his preparations, and set out with his wife on the road for the Royal Court, and kept continually traversing along the bank of a river[3] where there were very noble cities and very sumptuous edifices, of which I do not treat because it has nothing to do with this history. On the arrival of the ambassador at the Court, he was very well received by all the Lords and Governors of the land; and after some days had elapsed the King desired to receive him in person, although this was not his usual custom, for no one sees him, and business is transacted by the men who govern the land. And after the ambassador had performed his courtesy to the King after

[1] Canton, or Quangtung, 23 deg. 12 min. N., 113 deg. 17 min. E.

[2] Pekin, or Shun-tien, China, 39 deg. 53 min. N., 116 deg. 29 min. E.

[3] This probably refers to the Yang-tsze-kiang, which is connected by the Yun-ho, Sha-ho, or Grand Canal, with the Yun-ho, or Eu-ho River, on a branch of which the city of Pekin is built.

the manner and custom of the Chinese, he threw himself at the King's feet, and with many tears begged him that he would be pleased to assist the King his lord in his present trouble, for in him he placed all his confidence.

The King ordered him to rise, and told him to relate all the history of the affair in order. He related it to him, for he had been an eyewitness of it all, and told him that the King his lord, after he had been overcome, had retired to the kingdom of Pão, and there he remained waiting, in the hopes that he (the King of China) would turn a favourable ear to him, and assist him, with men and a fleet, to recover possession of the kingdom, to be revenged for the affronts which the Captain of the King of Portugal had given him; and although the King of China had already been informed, by the Chinese who had come from Malaca, of all that had taken place, he was glad to hear the ambassador, and he enquired very particularly of him concerning the person and authority of the great Afonso Dalboquerque and of the Portuguese, what sort of men they were, and what was their manner of fighting.

The ambassador, as he was a discreet man, gave him a very good account of everything, whereat he was very well satisfied. And when these conversations were over, the King told him to go and enjoy himself, for he would dispatch him and do everything that he wished, but really he was unwilling to give his word that he would help the King of Malaca, for his intentions and desires were to keep on friendly terms with the King of Portugal and with his Captain Afonso Dalboquerque, and to send some persons to visit him, as well because of the great news which he had of his person, as also because of the good treatment that he had shewn to the Chinese whom he had found in the port of Malaca, and his desire to open the commerce in his land. And one thing which greatly helped this policy of the King of China was the complaints which the Chinese

merchants made of the tyrannies that the King of Malaca had practised upon them in the matter of their merchandise, in the time when they were in his territory.

The ambassador spent a long time at the Court without being able to get dispatch of his business, and during this time his wife died; and after some days had elapsed the King replied to him, through the officials, excusing himself from granting the succour which was asked of him, and giving his reasons why he could not do it, and the chief reason was the war that was on hand against the Tartars. With this reply the ambassador set out without loss of time, and when he arrived at the city of Janquileu, and bethought himself of the unfortunate result of his mission and of his departed wife, he died of sheer grief, having given orders to build a chapel for his interment in the outskirts of the city, and therein he lies buried in a sepulchre surrounded by steps of lateen, on which he ordered an inscription to be placed, which reads: "*Here lies Tuão Nacem, Ambassador and Uncle of the great King of Malaca, whom death carried off before he could be avenged upon the Captain Afonso Dalboquerque, lion of the sea robbers.*"

CHAPTER XXXI.

How the King of Malaca, having arrived at the kingdom of Pão, died; and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque began to build the fortress; and the inscription which he placed over the gate after it was finished, and what passed hereupon.

As disasters kept following this ill-fated King of Malaca, Fortune not being content with placing him in the position of losing his city, wife, children and people, disheartened and deeply chagrined at his losses, after he had arrived but a few days at the kingdom of Pão, he died. When the King was dead, all the Moors of honourable estate, who had

followed his fortune, scattered themselves through the forests there, and after the lapse of some days came down, seeking to get to the sea coast, and sent to beg permission from Afonso Dalboquerque that they might return to their city; and to some of them, who were men of principal power, he granted permission, for he considered it was more prudent to have such men as these within the city, than that they should be going about outside, stirring up assemblies and inciting the merchants not to come to the port; he therefore commanded the Javanese to band themselves together and scour the land, and bring back captive all the Malays found in the woods there, to work at the building of the fortress which he was anxious to begin; and if among these captives any one should chance to be found who could be recognised as having taken a guilty part in the massacre of the men forming the company of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that proper punishment be meted out to him, and that the others, with iron chains upon them, should serve at the work.

And in company with them there were brought to him one thousand five hundred slaves who had belonged to the king, with their women and children, and he took them all as captives of the King D. Manuel, just as they had been of the King of Malaca, and ordered that they should be supplied with wages and provisions when they worked at the building, in accordance with the native custom; and when they were not thus required to serve they worked for their own advantage, for after this manner they had been compelled to serve the King of Malaca; and when he had thus arranged these matters, he ordered them to take off from the fortress the timber[1] and woodwork which it carried for the protection of the men who were employed on the work, and to make ready lime, stone, and masonry for a beginning; and although Ruy de Araujo never expected to be able to find sufficient stone to build the fortress, yet

[1] See p. 129.

as it was the will of our Lord that the Portuguese should make good their settlement in that city, and that His name should there be worshipped, so great a quantity of stone and masonry was discovered in some ancient sepulchres of bygone kings, which were situated on the land beneath the surface of the ground, and in the mosques that were thrown down, that two fortresses might well have been constructed; and now, as there were plenty of helping hands to begin the work, and many labourers, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to open out the foundations, and he founded a very strong fortress, the foundation filled in to the depth of a war lance, for the position of the ground required it to be so, with two wells of very good water within the precincts for drinking purposes, that were there already built with worked stone masonry.

And in order that our men, who were within the fortress, might be able to rally together for defence, if it were necessary, whenever they so desired, without the enemy being able to cut them off, he laid the foundation of a keep[1] of four storey's height along the sea, so that also from its height they might with their artillery defend a hill which the fortress has over against it, which commands its position.

Now because it may be that some who read this history may find fault with building a fortress in an enemy's country with such a weak point, the answer is that Afonso Dalboquerque put up with the commanding position of this hill because there was not in the whole of the city a more commodious place for the security of the captain and the forces that might be placed therein, for alongside of this tower one of our ships of two hundred tons burden could come whenever it was desired. And they called the fortress "*A Famosa*", *i.e.*, "The Famous." And as I have been told by many persons who have seen it, it seems to have been very appropriately so called; but I do not give a

[1] *Torre de Menagem*; see vol. i, p. 45.

special account of its details of construction because it is very much frequented by our Portuguese. And because Afonso Dalboquerque was very much devoted to Our Lady he ordered the men to build a church, to which he gave the name of "*Nossa Senhora da Annunciada*", *i.e.*, "Our Lady of the Annunciation." And in order that the memory of the persons who had taken part in the conquest of this kingdom and foundation of the fortress might remain for ever, he ordered them to make a very large stone slab, upon which were inscribed the names of all the principal men. But, the Portuguese are by nature envious of honour, they would not, therefore, suffer Afonso Dalboquerque to make more account of one than of another, seeing that all were equally meritorious in the work, and in the conquest of that city; and he, in order not to give them cause for displeasure, and yet not to abandon that which he had done, gave orders that the stone should be set up over the gateway with the inscribed names turned to the wall, and on the back of the slab that verse of David, which says: "LAPIDEM QUEM REPROBAVERUNT EDIFICANTES," that is, "The stone[1] which the builders refused."

CHAPTER XXXII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, at the request of the Governors and people of the city, ordered money to be coined; and of the value thereof, and of the rest that was done thereupon.

While the affairs of Malaca were in this state, Ninachatu came to the great Afonso Dalboquerque with the Governors of the land, and declared to him that the people were suffering great inconvenience from the want of a currency, and they begged he would of his graciousness give orders for some system of coinage; and although he had already for

[1] Psalm cxviii, 22 (cxvii *Vulg.*).

many days desired this himself, yet, as the work of building the fortress occupied the whole of this time, he had put this matter off to a more fitting opportunity, when he should have less to occupy his attention; yet because the necessity which they represented to him was very urgent, and the people could not improve their condition without a currency, he desired to set to work and arrange the matter without loss of any more time, as well because it was a royal privilege of the King, D. Manuel, and of his victory in a kingdom newly acquired, whereof he was by right the king[1], so also in order to withdraw and suppress the coinage of the Moors, and cast their root and their name out of the land.

Having made up his mind concerning this, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that all the merchants, governors, and principal men of the city should be called together, and held a conversation with them respecting their desires expressed to him; and after many different opinions had been given by them all, they agreed to the opinion of all the captains who were there present, that a coinage should be made, and that out of two *caixes*,[2] which was a pewter coin of the King of Malaca, should be struck a coin with the *sphere*[3] of the King D. Manuel, to which they gave the name of *dinheiro* (*i.e.*, money), and another, of greater size, which was worth ten *dinheiros*, they termed *soldo*,[4] and others, which weighed ten *soldos*, they entitled *bastardos*; and all this money was of pewter, which is found native in the land of Malaca, and the mines of this metal he made direct Crown property of the King of Portugal.

And because there was not in Malaca any gold or silver coinage, but trade was carried on by barter of one kind of merchandise for another, they agreed that there should be

[1] Maimonides, Gezelah, 5. "Ubicunque numisma alicujus regis obtinet, illic incolæ regem istum pro domino agnoscunt." Quoted by Farrar, *Life of Christ*, ii, 232, *n*.

[2] See p. 77.

[3] *Espera*, see vol. ii, p. 129.

[4] Cf. Lat. *Solidus*; Fr. *Sou*.

such a coinage; and after much disputation concerning the value that should be assigned to it, the opinion which found favour with everyone was that the gold coin should weigh a quarter of a *tundiá*, which is worth among us a thousand *reis*, and to this they gave the name of *Catholico*; and the silver coin the merchants thought well to be that of Pegú, which is somewhat less than that of Castelete, but upon this point there were several opinions given on both sides; but Afonso Dalboquerque appointed that this coin should be made of merchantable silver, so that if the Kings of Portugal should desire to send silver for sale to Malaca, on account of the high value it would fetch, they could do so.

The merchants, although this high value of the silver was against them, assented to the opinion expressed by Afonso Dalboquerque, and agreed that the silver coin should be called *Malaqueses, i.e.*, Malaca pieces, and should have the same value of a quarter of *tundia;* and in order that currency of the coinage of the Moors might be immediately stopped everywhere, especially that of pewter, which was the most common in use in the land, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders for the establishment of a house for the mint, and that all the Moors who held coin of the King of Malaca should convey it thither without delay under pain of death; and so great a quantity of money was thus carried there out of fear of the penalty which had been appointed to them, that the officers could not dispatch their business fast enough, and in a short time a great quantity of silver, gold, and copper had been recoined.[1]

[1] Correa's description of the coinage differs in some respects from this text. He says:—"Em Malaca nom corria nenhuma moeda d'ouro nem de prata, porque todo se compraua, e vendia, as mercadorias humas a troqo d'outras, e as miudezas do bazar de comer se comprauão per huma moeda d'estanho, a que chamauão calayns. O Gouernador mandou laurar d'esta moeda assy miuda, e outra de dez soldos, a que pôs nome bastardos, e de hum lado a espera e de outro hum A grego. Fez moeda d'ouro de valia de mil e corenta reaes, e n'ella huma mea fegura de Rey

When Afonso Dalboquerque had been informed by the officials as to the quantity of coin which they had in hand, he ordered the Governors of the land to be summoned, and told him that he had given orders for minting a large sum of money, in accordance with the advice of every one, and that it was necessary to send forth a proclamation concerning it throughout the city with that solemnity which belonged to the estate of the King D. Manuel his lord. The Governors agreed that upon the morning of the following day the change in the currency should be proclaimed, and all the principal men of the people met together, and made their way to the fortress, where Afonso Dalboquerque was with

com coroa, e huma espada na mão, e letras que dizião derrador, COM ESTA CONQUISTADA E GANHADA, e da outra parte o escudo das quinas, e letras derrador que dizião, GLORIA PERA SEMPRE MEMORIA. A esta moeda pôs nome catolica, e d'esta fez meos catalicos de preço de quinhentos e vinte reaes, a que pôs de huma parte a espera com letras que dizião, ESPERA EM DEOS PERA MAIS, e da outra banda o A grego, e letras que dizião, O ESCRAVO GANHA PERA O SENHOR. Estas moedas lauradas erão muy fermosas, de que mandou laurar huma soma. E fez moeda de prata de setecentos e vinte reaes, de huma banda as quinas sem coroa, e da outra banda espera com as mesmas letras, que chamou reaes brancos, e meos reaes."—Tom. ii, p. 256. From this extract we get the following values:—

10 *Soldos*	=	1 *Bastardo* (pewter).
1,040 *reaes*	=	1 *Catholico* (gold).
520 *reaes*	=	1 half *Catholico* (gold).
720 *reaes*	=	1 *real branco*, *i.e.*, white *real* (silver).

SCHEME OF THE PORTUGUESE COINAGE OF MALACA, deduced from the foregoing text.

PEWTER.

2 *Caixes*, or Cash	=	1 *Espera* = 1 *Dinheiro*.
10 *Dinheiros*	=	1 *Soldo*.
10 *Soldos*	=	1 *Bastardo*.

SILVER.

1 *Malaquese*	=	$\frac{1}{4}$ *Tundia*.

GOLD.

1 *Catholico*	=	$\frac{1}{1}$ *Tundia* = 1000 *Reis* (Portuguese).

all the Captains, Fidalgos, and Cavaliers of the Fleet, and from that place they began their procession in the following order.

There went first, in front of all the people, one of the principal Governors of the City mounted upon an elephant with his castle caparisoned with silk, and carrying in his hands a flag of the arms of the King of Portugal upon a long spear, and behind him went all the people on foot on one side and the other, as it were in a procession; and in the midst of these people there went a Moor mounted upon another elephant, likewise caparisoned with silk, making the proclamation; and behind this one came the trumpets; and after them the Governors of the City, and all the Merchants, and principal men thereof; and at the rear of this throng there went Antonio de Sousa the son of João de Sousa of Santarem, and the son of Ninachatu, both together upon a large elephant, which had been kept for the King's own use, with his castle caparisoned with brocaded cloths, and they carried with them a large quantity of gold, silver, and copper coin, which they kept on throwing out over the heads of all the people at each publication of the proclamation which the Moor made. The crowd was so great that the streets could scarcely contain it, and with many songs and blowing of horns, according to the native custom, the people gave great praise to Afonso Dalboquerque for giving orders for this distribution of money by the advice and in accordance with the opinions of their natives.

When the publication of this money was finished the Pegús begged permission of Afonso Dalboquerque to depart to their own country, and he granted it to them, and shewed them great honour and kindness, whereat they were very pleased, and gave him great thanks for what he had done for them when the city was sacked, in not permitting that their houses and merchandise should be robbed, which indeed was of no small importance, for it amounted to a

thousand *miticaes*[1] of gold, apart from the sums of gold and silver which they had concealed.

When Afonso Dalboquerque had taken his leave of them, they set forth promising him that they would very soon return to that port with much merchandise, and would endeavour to bring him a very large junk, which was being built in their country for the King of Malaca. And there remained behind in Malaca one of the sons of the Pilot, a youth of good breeding, with a hundred Pegús, and he learned our Portuguese language; and he was so curious to see everything that the principal reason why he stayed behind was to see our fortress completed, and he was always at work upon it with his men, whom Afonso Dalboquerque ordered to be liberally repaid for their labour.

Of this gold which I have spoken of above as coming to Malaca, the larger part comes from a mine of Menamcabo, which is at the extremity of the island of Samatra, on the southern side, fronting opposite to Malaca, a sea voyage of six days' distance, and it also comes from the kingdom of Pão, and in all the islands round about Malaca there is gold, but only a little. The Gores and the Chinese also bring it. The silver comes from the kingdom of Sião, and from the

[1] Roquette, who gives the forms—*Matical*, *metical*, *medegal*, and *metigal*,—considers this to be an Asiatic weight of one drachm and a half for pearls, amber, etc.

Bluteau describes the *Matical* or *Metical*, as a coin or weight of gold, current in Mozambique, and worth 480 *reis*, according to João dos Santos in the *Ethiopia*, fol. 53, col. 3; and records that in the same place the above historian speaks of "quatorze maticaes que são seis mil e seis centos reis"; from this latter passage we may deduce nearly 472 *reis* to the *metical*. Under *metical*, Bluteau quotes two passages from Portuguese authors: (i) João de Barros, *Decada* i, 68, 2, to the effect that 30 *meticals* are equal to about 14,000 *reis*. This would give only 466½ *reis* to the *metical*. (ii) Damião de Goes, fol. 23, c. 4, that each *metical* is worth 240 *reaes da nossa moeda*. If the *real* is equal to two *reis*, this value of the *metical* agrees with that assigned to it above by João dos Santos.

kingdom of Pegú, where there are many mines of it, and its quality is as good as that of Castelete.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How the merchants and all the noble Moors of the city complained to the great Afonso Dalboquerque of the tyrannies which Utemutaraja exercised in the land, and how he had in his power all the supplies, and of many other things which he did.

When some days had elapsed, after the fortress was raised to such a height that it could defend itself against its enemies, they came from time to time to declare to the great Afonso Dalboquerque that Utemutaraja was planning some treachery in concert with the King Alaoadim, who had succeeded to the kingdom after the death of his father King Mahamet, who had died in Pão, as I have already related, with the intention of rising up in conjunction against us, and for the better proof of this matter they gave him a letter which the Utemutaraja had written to the King, and the reply to it.

The substance of this letter was Utemutaraja's excuses to the King for the friendship he had made with Afonso Dalboquerque, and the obedience he had shown to the same, giving many reasons and excuses for the course he had pursued, and offering in it his own person and his men to help the King if he is determined to attack the city of Malaca, with all his household and possessions, relatives and friends, making very light of this business because of the smallness of our forces. Afonso Dalboquerque kept this within himself without giving account of it to any one, and from that time forward showed to Utemutaraja much good-will; and Utemutaraja, considering this favourable treatment which he experienced, and vainly imagining that Afonso Dalboquerque was not cognisant of the treachery in which he was

engaged, began to act with some little effrontery in the government of the land, and gave opportunity to the Moors who lived in his district of Dupe to make use of their own coinage, and prevented ours from being current; and although Utemutaraja had been present, in his position as a principal personage, when it was agreed that this coinage of money should be made, nevertheless neither he, nor his sons, grandsons, nor relatives, would be present at the formal proclamation of the change of currency; wherefore it was that Afonso Dalboquerque did not place any very great reliance on his protestations of friendship, but began to act very cautiously in his dealings with him, and appeased the Moors, who complained every day of the robberies practised upon them by Utemutaraja, who was constantly leading his men in little bands about the country, robbing the people who had returned to settle in the city in consequence of the safeguard held out to them by Afonso Dalboquerque. And not content with this, Utemutaraja had even given orders for seizing all the slaves of the King and his Mandarins, and of the Merchants, and began to take possession for himself of certain estates in the interior country, which had been deserted by the Governors of Malaca when they had fled with the King, without anyone being able to compel him to relinquish any of the things which he had seized.

And because the merchants and people of the city came again to pour out their complaints against Utemutaraja to Afonso Dalboquerque, and because also he had intercepted all the cargoes of rice that had arrived, and would not suffer a single merchant to purchase any of them, in order to have them all in his own hands, so that on this account there was a great scarcity of provisions, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to Utemutaraja, through Ruy de Araujo, temporising with him, that certain merchants were complaining of the bad government of the land; but it must

surely be without any reason, for they were a difficult class to be made happy, yet he begged earnestly that he would give orders for an inquiry to be made into the matter. But Utemutaraja took so little heed of this hint to mend his ways, that Afonso Dalboquerque again sent word to say that on an occasion when a certain *Naire*,[1] who had turned Christian—a man in the employment of the *Meirinho*[2]—was walking in the district of Dupe, he had ordered his arrest; and when the *Meirinho* with very gentle words desired him to look well to what he was doing, for that man was a Christian and not subject to his jurisdiction,—but if he had done anything wrong it ought to be reported to Afonso Dalboquerque, who would order him to be severely beaten,—he (Utemutaraja) had given no reply, neither had he given up the *Naire*, but from that time forward he began to construct in Dupe strong stockades surrounded with ditches.

Ruy de Araujo, who observed these evident signs of effrontery on the part of Utemutaraja, made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque, and related to him all these things that had taken place, little thinking that he was well aware of them all, and told him that unless that Javanese (Utemutaraja) were once and for ever put to silence, he felt sure that as soon as the Portuguese sailed away for India he would be the cause of a great deal of trouble to the fortress, and to the men who were left behind in it; and this very same opinion was given to Afonso Dalboquerque by the merchants, who begged him very earnestly not to depart from Malaca without first of all casting Utemutaraja out of the country, for he was a traitor, and an evil man, who had always been an opponent of the late king, and had even endeavoured several times to rise up in open rebellion

[1] See vol. i, p. 4.

[2] *Meirinho*, an officer whose duty it is to apprehend criminals and malefactors.

against him; and they declared that they dared not stay in the land if Utemutaraja remained therein; and they gave very good reasons for all this, alleging that Utemutaraja was not only an old man, and of very ancient family, and one to whom much faith was attached in that country, but also he had many sons and grandsons, and was very rich, and had many retainers. And beyond all these arguments which the merchants laid before Afonso Dalboquerque, he himself had certain information that the principal reason why this Javanese practised these doings was because he could not bear that the Quilins and Chitims, who were Hindoos, should be out of his jurisdiction, or have a governor and a system of judicature set apart for themselves, for it was Ninachatu who ruled them, and framed his government in accordance with their native Hindoo manners and customs. And another strong motive which influenced this matter was that Afonso Dalboquerque greatly favoured the Hindoo merchants, because they were men much employed in trading, and richer, and possessed of greater estates than the Moors; and in their hands lay all the commerce and business of Malaca, and they, too, were under the obligation of causing six hundred families of the richest inhabitants of Choramandel to come and settle in Malaca; and this favour which Afonso Dalboquerque showed to the Hindoos, and the great trouble he was at to root out the Moors from Malaca, was the cause of Utemutaraja's entering into a confederation with King Alaoadim to rise up in revolt against our people.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, on account of the corroboration which he received concerning the treason which Utemutaraja was planning against him, determined to seize him, and his son, and his son-in-law; and the rest that took place, and what passed with the wife of Utemutaraja.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, being thus aware of the conspiracy in which Utemutaraja was engaged together with the King Alaoadim, intending to rise up in revolt against him, and having information that he had bought up all the rice in the markets, which formed the staple article of food for the inhabitants of the city, and fearing that this business would entail great trouble upon him if he bore with Utemutaraja any longer, determined to seize him and his son, son-in-law, and grandson,[1] and on several occasions caused them to be summoned, that he might take counsel with them concerning the government of the land, but they always made excuses for absenting themselves, and were unwilling to come at his summons, whereat Afonso Dalboquerque began to be more displeased than ever with them; nevertheless, he continued to dissemble his real feelings towards them.

But when the time came for Afonso Dalboquerque to set sail for India, and he saw he could not bring this affair to a conclusion except by some open acts of force, veiling his real intentions he said to Cojeabrahem,[2] a Moor, by nation a Persian, who was a great friend of Utemutaraja, who was constantly requesting him to give him the official position

1 "Tinha elle hum filho valente caualleiro, e tinha hum seu genro, casado com huma filha, de que tinha hum neto valente caualleiro, todos homens muy poderosos e riqos."—*Correa*, p. 258.

2 *Coge Abraham*, *i.e.*, Master Abraham; for the first part of the word, which is a titular designation, see vol. i, p. 227.

of *Quitoal*,[1] that he had determined not to confer the offices of the city upon any one without the counsel and advice of the principal inhabitants of it, and therefore they must all be convened, and if they were agreed then he would give him the office in their presence.

Cojeabrahem, seeing by this a means for the accomplishment of his aspirations, so managed that he brought them together and conveyed them to the fortress where Afonso Dalboquerque was with all the captains; and when they had gone in, without any further parley with them, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that their arms should be taken away from them, and then gave orders to Ruy de Araujo to read to them before the whole assembly certain articles which he had against Utemutaraja and his son, son-in-law, and grandson, concerning many things which they had done against the service of the King D. Manuel, their lord, and among others the letter which Utemutaraja had written to King Alaoadim.

Utemutaraja confessed to certain of the articles, but denied others, and as for the letter, he said it was true that he had written it, but it was not his intention to revolt against Afonso Dalboquerque, but rather to get the king into his own hands, so as to deliver him up to the Portuguese; and as for the rice which they alleged he had bought up and kept in hand, he had indeed bought it to make profit by the transaction, for this was the business by which he made his living, and he had not done this for any other or for any bad purpose; but these were matters which the Hindoos had trumped up against him out of the ill will they bore him because he would not take part in their peculations.

[3] Correa gives the signification of this native title by the paraphrase:—"Que andaua em requerimento com o Gouernador que o fizesse *gozil e guarda do mar*"; *i.e.*, governor of the port, and warden of the sea, p. 259.

When this examination was over, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to put all four of the prisoners into a cellar of the keep, and to maintain good watch over them, and to throw down the stockades and fill in the ditches which Utemutaraja had constructed in his district; and to Pero Dalpoem, who held the office of *Ouvidor*,[1] order was given forthwith to take judicial notice of their deeds, and to act in strict letter of law against them. As soon as the merchants and principal inhabitants received the news that Afonso Dalboquerque had captured Utemutaraja and his sons, they came and asked him to make just restitution of the great quantity of property of which that prince had robbed them. Therefore he gave instructions to the *Ouvidor* to cause restoration to be made to them of everything that should prove to have been obtained by robbery; and beside many other things which were thus caused to be restored to these merchants and to the people of the city, there were five hundred slaves whom Utemutaraja had seized by force. And when all the forms of the judicial process had been executed, and when everything was at an end, waiting for the passing of the sentence, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders for the summoning of all the captains, and in their presence told the *Ouvidor* to read the indictment of the crimes of the prisoners; and having heard them, they adjudged the prisoners to suffer capital punishment[2] by decollation.

As soon as the sentence had been pronounced, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders that there should be set up a lofty scaffolding in the middle of the square, that the execution might be witnessed by all the populace. Now when the wife of Utemutaraja knew that her husband and children were condemned to death, she sent to Afonso Dalboquerque a Javanese named Patequitir, to beg he would have pity on

[1] Chief magistrate.

[2] *Julgáram que morressem morte natural;* a curious Portuguese phrase, probably to be accounted for on euphemistic principles.

her and pardon her husband and her children, and she would take them away with her and go and live in her own country (for she was a native of Java), for she was never happy at their living in Malaca, and on this condition she would give, towards defraying the expenses of the works at the fortress, seven *Bahares* of gold, each one of which contains four *quintals*.[1] Afonso Dalboquerque replied that the custom of the Portuguese was not to sell justice for gold, that for his part he was very sorry to find them guilty and to have to give orders for justice to be meted out to them, but that he would allow that their bodies after death should be delivered over to them that they might bury them according to their own rites. When the scaffold was ready he ordered the *Ouvidor* to go and execute justice upon the prisoners, taking with him in his train all the guards, and a large body of other men armed, because these criminals were men of considerable importance; and when they were on the scaffold and the executioner desired to execute the sons first, Utemutaraja said to him that he should begin upon him, for he was an old man, and could not bear to see them come to such a fearful end. The bodies remained where they were from the morning until the evening, in sight of all the people of the city, who could not bring themselves to believe that these men had been executed.

This spectacle of the punishment of these Moors was a special permission of Divine Providence, for in this very

[1] Correa's account of this proffered gift involves a curious typographical error in his text. The passage is as follows:—"E por ysso darião sete báres d'ouro e meo, que erão trinta quintaes, por cada hum dez," p. 260. "And they would give seven and a half *báres* of gold, which was thirty *quintals*, for each one *ten*"; a manifest error for *four*.

The *Quintal* is equivalent to four *Arrobas*, or 58.7428 kilo, French. Vieyra's description of the *Bahar* is somewhat confused. He gives three values, 386 lbs. avoird., 625 lbs. and 6250 lbs. for different Eastern localities. Bluteau quotes a passage from Damião de Goes, fol. 60, col. 3,......"Que faz cada *Bahar* tres quintaes, tres arrobas, e desouto arrates do nosso peso".

same square, where Afonso Dalboquerque ordered these men to be decapitated by the sword of the justice of the King of Portugal, two years ago the King of Malaca had determined to kill his chief captain, Diogo Lopez de Sequeira, and all those who accompanied him to that country, in a banquet which was given to them, had it not been for a woman of Java, who by night swam off to the ships to warn one of the mariners who was her friend.[1] The wife of Utemutaraja, after having performed her rites of sepulture upon those devilish corpses,[2] conferred with Patequitir and gave him seven or eight *miticaes*[3] of gold, and desired him to gather together all her slaves, who were very many, and to take vengeance for her upon the *Quilins*[4] and *Chitins*,[5] who had been the cause of the death of her husband and her sons.

When Afonso Dalboquerque knew of this, he came up with some soldiers and fell upon this band, and put them all to the sword in the very streets of the city, killing a great number of them. Patequitir, finding himself worsted, and seeing that he had no power to carry out what was desired of him, took the wife of Utemutaraja, and all the property he could carry off, and struck out into the interior of the country, and set fire to a large number of country houses of *Chitins* and *Quilins*, and carried on this rebellion for ten or twelve days; but when he reflected that this enterprise of his could not possibly come to a good end, he sent to Afonso Dalboquerque to give him a safeguard, and this was granted according to his request, but he would not return to live in Malaca.

This Utemutaraja was by birth a Javanese Hindoo, and it was many years since he had become a Moor. He was about eighty or ninety years of age, of the lower class; he was poor when he came to Malaca, and he had lived about

[1] See vol. ii, pp. 73, 74. [2] *Aquelles corpos de Satanás.*
[3] See p. 142. [4] See p. 128. [5] See vol. ii, p. 130 *n*.

fifty years there: he prospered well with his merchant trade, and became exceedingly rich; he was very proud, excessively tyrannical, restless, rebellious, and so was he always in the time of King Mahamet; and he had so much power and so much authority in Malaca, that had he not been got rid of he would certainly have caused very great trouble to us. For Afonso Dalboquerque very often used to say (when he observed how quiet the country remained after the death of Utemutaraja), that if he had carried out a similar policy in Ormuz, in regard to Cogeatar,[1] that one also would never have raised up rebellion against him, nor practised so many impostures upon him.

This son of his, who was put to death with him, was the one who stood ready with the dagger in his hand to murder Diogo Lopez de Sequeira; and he it was, too, whom the King of Malaca had appointed Captain, after the fall of Diogo Lopez, to seize the ships of the Portuguese, with a large body of his own and his father's retainers; but Our Lord would not that he should accomplish this crime, but, on the other hand, willed that he should pay the penalty which such an undertaking merited.

CHAPTER XXXV.

How Duarte Fernandez, and the Chinese, whom he carried in his company, reached the city of Udiá, where the King of Sião lived, and gave him the message which he carried from the great Afonso Dalboquerque; and of the ambassador whom the King of Sião sent to him.

When Duarte Fernandez had set sail from Malaca in company with the two Chinese captains, bearing the message of the great Afonso Dalboquerque to the King of Sião, as has already been mentioned, in a few days they

[1] See vol. i, p. 108, etc.

stood off on the other tack and reached the mouth of a large river which leads to the City of Udiá,[1] in which the King of Siam lived; and when the King heard of the arrival there of some foreign people he sent thither a Captain with two hundred launches, to learn what people they were and whence they came.

As soon as the Captain reached the harbour where the Chinese had remained, he enquired of Duarte Fernandez the purpose of his journey, and by whom he had been sent. Duarte Fernandez replied that he was the messenger of a great Captain of the King of Portugal, who was established at Malaca with a large fleet, and that he had been sent thither by the orders of that Captain to visit the King of Sião and carry a letter to him. On receiving this intelligence the Siamese Captain sent to the King an account of the people, who they were, and with what object they had come, and asking that instructions should be sent how he desired him to proceed in this matter.

The King, having already had some information of the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque at Malaca, was very much gratified to know that this messenger came from him, and ordered the Captain to bring the messenger to him immediately. When the King's reply was received the Captain embarked in the launches with Duarte Fernandez and the Chinese Captains, and they all proceeded up the river[2] as far as the City, and when the party disembarked the Captain with all his men escorted Duarte Fernandez to the Palace, where the King was waiting for them in a large hall, all hung round with brocades and upholstered with very rich

[1] Udiá, called by Bruzen de la Martiniere *Juthia* or *Judia*, the capital city of the kingdom of Siam, corrupted from the native name *Si-yô-thi-yâ*. Pedro Barretto de Resende, in MS., Sloan, 197, fol. 380, shows on Berthelot's map of 1635, the "Cidade de India, metropolli do Reino de Siam". Keith Johnston, in his Royal Atlas, places *Yuthia* or *Ayuthia*, a little to the north of Bangkok, 14 deg. 24 min. N., 100 deg. 27 min. E.

[2] The river Menam, see p. 71 *n*.

cushions, the King himself being seated on a lofty chair, habited in the Chinese fashion, and close to him, on the right and left, all his wives and daughters, seated, clad in brocades and silken clothes, with a great display of golden ornaments and jewellery, and lower down on each side many other women of noble birth, dressed after the same manner, so that it was a very grand spectacle. The women of this country are somewhat short of stature, but yet they are very handsome. And there were also present there all the principal lords of the country, very richly attired.

After Duarte Fernandez had entered the hall he made his obeisance to the King after the Hindoo manner, and went up to him and gave him Afonso Dalboquerque's letter and the sword, which the King received with many words of acknowledgment, asking him about the doings at Malaca, and the King of Portugal, and the state and power which he possessed. Duarte Fernandez, being a man of considerable ability, gave a very good account of everything in his replies to the King's enquiries. And when this interview was over the Captain was commanded to take him to his own house and to entertain the Chinese Captains in a very good manner, and on the following day the King ordered that all the City should be shown to him in order to do him honour, and also that he should see a white Elephant which he had, at which the Chinese became very greatly struck with amazement; and indeed had it been a thing which could be purchased, they would have given a large sum of money for it in order to carry it to the King of China.

After some days had elapsed the King granted a farewell audience to Duarte Fernandez, sending in company with him an Ambassador to Afonso Dalboquerque, with a letter to the King D. Manuel, and a ring set with a ruby, and a crown and sword of gold, and they set out from the city of Udiá and in seven days got as far as the other side of the Coast of Samatra and reached Taranque, which is a city

belonging to the King of Sião, and from that point they kept along by his towns as far as the shoals of Capacia, and on their arrival at Malaca they found the walls of the fortress already with a great part of the battlements and towers complete, and much artillery set up in them, and all the city in obedience to Afonso Dalboquerque.

The Chinese Captains, who had all along fancied that he would be ruined in that enterprise of his against Malaca, when they beheld the fortress finished and the peaceable state of the city were very much astonished, and very much ashamed of the way in which they had behaved towards him before their voyage. When Afonso Dalboquerque learned that an Ambassador of the King of Sião had come in company with Duarte Fernandez, he gave orders that he should be received by all the Captains, and he treated him with great honour and entertained him. The Ambassador delivered to him a letter which he had brought, and another for the King D. Manuel, with the present. The letter for Afonso Dalboquerque was the reply to that which had been sent to the King by Duarte Fernandez, and in it the King said that he was much pleased with the messenger and with the declaration of friendship, and offered him his kingdom and person for the service of the King of Portugal, and supplies and men and merchandize for his country, as much as was required, and that for a long time he had desired to be on friendly terms with him on account of the great things which he had heard reported of the Portuguese done against the Moors, and that he hoped he would take vengeance for him upon that tyrant the King of Malaca, for as yet he did not know that the city was taken.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched the ambassador of the King of Sião, and in company with him sent Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo with instructions how to act, and of the present which was sent through him.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque had concluded his interviews with the Ambassador of the King of Sião, he determined—being just on the point of setting sail for India—to dispatch him back again, and to send in company with him Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, as Ambassador to the King, and ordered him to make ready to sail in the junk of the Chinese who were waiting there for him; and this was the instruction given to him as to what he was to say:—

"You shall declare to the King of Sião how the King of Portugal, my lord, sent me to this port of Malaca to take notice of the treason which the king and his governors did to a certain one of his chief captains and to his men, who had been sent to treat as to terms of friendship, and that he had killed them in face of a safeguard which had been granted to them, and thrown into captivity in that country a great part of the men.

"You shall declare to him that, after I had arrived at this port, I had sent many times to beg of the king to give an account of his proceedings, and order the release of the Portuguese whom he had thrown into captivity, and make good the property which he had taken; but he, with his unmeasured pride, never gave answer to this proposal, nor desired to be on friendly terms, nor make a treaty of peace with me, but shewed favour to the Moors of India (who had their ships there) in opposition to the service of the King of Portugal.

"You shall declare that when I beheld his determination to be false I attacked his city and entered into it by force

of arms, and overcame the king (who escaped with a wound only) and his people and his elephants; but, in order that I should not destroy the city, I re-embarked, and so remained for the space of fifteen days in expectation of his repentance; and the king, having had experience of the dashing spirit of the Portuguese cavaliers, had nevertheless not abandoned the intention of risking all at any price upon the hazard of war, rather than wishing to have an agreement of peace and friendship arranged between myself and him.

"You shall declare to him that, in order to repress this contumacy which he shewed, I again attacked the city and overthrew it, killing many people and even some of his captains; and I took his elephants and I burnt his palaces, but I forgave his people and his merchants, so that the city might not be destroyed nor the trade of the country; and that I give the King of Sião hereby this notice of it, because I know for certain that he will be well pleased at hearing of the overthrow of this king, for he has always been at war with him.

"You shall declare unto him that the King of Portugal, my lord, will be greatly pleased if the ships and people of Sião trade with Malaca, and that this was the principal reason why I was glad when it was taken; and, if he should have any need of the fleets or armies of Sião for the preservation of his estate, I, as his captain general, will make use of them in everything that he orders me to do."

And with these instructions Afonso Dalboquerque gave him a present for the king, to be given to him in the name of the King of Portugal, consisting of some breast-pieces of crimson velvet; a long corselet with complete suit of arms; a helmet with the chin-piece very richly garnished; a buckler of buff,[1] with its cordings very richly made and set

[1] *Adarga danta.* The Anta, according to Vieyra, is an animal found in the East Indies, like a little cow, without horns. The hide is much valued to make buff small-clothes.

in a brocaded guige;[1] three cloths of arms made of velvet and satins of various colours, stamped in patterns and trimmed with gold tassels. These had belonged to the King of Malaca, and had adorned the wooden house wherein the King of Pão, his son-in-law, was to go in procession through the streets of the city (as I have related already[2]); and a basin for washing the hands, with bastions;[3] and two double-handed vases[4] of the same pattern; and a small kettle of fine workmanship; and two cups with bastions, all of silver; and a cross-bow, with its furniture;[5] and four branches of coral, very thick and of fine quality, because of its great value in that country; and a piece of scarlet; and he made a present of some articles to the King of Sião's ambassador, whereat he was much pleased.

Antonio de Miranda, as soon as he received his letters of credence for the King, embarked on board the Chinese junk, and proceeding on the voyage in a few days reached the city of Taranque, which belongs to the King of Sião, and there he parted from the Chinese and made his way through the country with horses and draught oxen, straight to the city of Sião, where he was very graciously received by the King who was reigning there.

This kingdom of Sião is very narrow on that side where the Chinese make their navigation. It possesses some harbours and villages, and from thence it is a ten days' journey to the coast of Tanaçarij,[6] and Taranque, and Savião, and on the other side of the sea of Samatra he has also many harbours and villages, and he is lord of a large population. These are Hindoos, and in the country are many Moorish merchants from numerous parts of the world. The Chinese keep up in this country their establishments, for they repose

[1] *Funda*, a sling, strap, or *guige*, by which the shield is slung over the shoulder. [2] See p. 107. [3] See vol. ii, p. 205.

[4] *Albarradas*. [5] *Almazem*.

[6] Tenasserim, 12 deg. 2 min. N., 98 deg. 55 min. E.

great confidence in the people. The King of this land was always at war with the King of Malaca, and therefore he was not sorry to see him overcome.

There are many things which I could have written about this kingdom of Sião, but my purpose is not to write any more about the countries than that which is necessary for the understanding of this history.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched the ambassadors of the Kings of Campar and Java, and ordered the exploration of the Island of Maluco.

The King of Campar having received intelligence of the discomfiture of Malaca, and of the state in which the affairs of that kingdom were, and fearing that because he was his son-in-law the fury of the Portuguese would be brought to bear also against his own country, embarked in ten launches, and came down to the river Muar, which is in the kingdom of Malaca, a distance of eight leagues from the city, opposite to the kingdom of Pão, and when he had arrived at this river he sent a messenger to Afonso Dalboquerque with a present of eight packages[1] of *lenhonoe*,[2] of very fine quality, and two of a mass which is made of the blood of the dragon,[3] which serves as a varnish for painted

[1] *Fardos*, bundles or bales. The *fardo* in India is a definite amount of forty-two pounds weight Portuguese.

[2] *Lenhonoe;* perhaps the *len-hae*, considered by the Rev. Dr. Mason of Burmah to be the *Acorus Calamus*, the root of which is very fragrant. See J. F. Watson's *Index to the Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economic Plants*, p. 342, fol. London, 1868, Indian Museum. Cf. *lenholoes*, chapter xliii.

[3] *Dragrão*, a typographical error for *dragão*. The *sangue do dragão* is the resin of a tree known to botanists as *Calamus Draco*. Bluteau writes of the *Sangue de Drago*:—" He huma cspecie de goma, que por incisão destilla em licor, e logo em se levantando o sol, se endurece, e se congela

articles, and sent word to say to Afonso Dalboquerque that this was a specimen of the fruit that was gathered in his country, and that he very greatly desired his friendship, and to become a vassal and a servant of the King of Portugal, and that he was not culpable in any way for the doings of his father-in-law.

Afonso Dalboquerque sent to thank him sincerely for the present, and for the desire to serve the King of Portugal, his Lord, which he had shown, and he sent him also certain things in return for his present, and offered him men and a fleet whenever he might need them; and when this messenger from the King of Campar had set forth on his return journey, Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched another, who many days ago had arrived there from the King of Java, bringing with him for a present a dozen lances of very great length with their slings of wood fastened into the iron, and a very long piece of cloth, whereon was painted a representation of the manner in which the King goes to battle, with his car-

em humas pequenas lagrimas friaveis, e vermelhas como sangue. O sangue de Drago com estas qualidades he o melhor dos tres, que se vendem nas boticas. Mana de huma arvore do tamanho de pinheyro, que dà muyto ramo, e lança humas folhas da feyção de espadas; os frutos se parecem com ginjas, e formando huns como cachos, de amarellos se fazem vermelhos, e de vermelhos azues, e azedinhos ao gosto. Disserão alguns, que, tirada deste fruto a pelle, apparece a figura de hum drago, donde lhe veyo o nome; porèm a mais commua opinião tem esta circunstancia por fabulosa.

"A outras duos gomas, que tem alguma semelhança com esta, se dà o nome de sangue de Drago; huma se tira de humas plantas das Ilhas Canarias, a qual dà folhas como de pereyra, a outra tem folhas como de ginjeyra, e dizem que huma e outra se cria na Ilha de S. Lourenço...... Disserão outros que o sangue de Dragão era huma certa especie de vermelhão, muyto fino, e apurado. O que tamhem he falso, porque o verdadeyro vermelhão he mineral, on artificial, e o sangue de Dragão, que se usa nos boticas, he licor congelado a modo de resina, que se destilla das arvores, as quaes...se chamão Dragoens. Sangrão os moradores da terra estas arvores, dandolhes golpes na casca, onde acode a humidade que tem, e alli se coalha, e faz em resina, vermelha, dura, e transparente."

riages, horses, and elephants armed with their wooden castles, and a figure of the King therein painted, riding in certain wooden erections placed above the carriages, and all this very beautifully depicted; and he sent him also twenty little bells, of which their music consists, and players who could play upon them with carved sticks, and they harmonised very well and gave a very pleasant sound; and he sent him two very large bells, which they strike in battle, for they can be heard a long way off; and the King desired to offer him men and supplies, and all other things that might be necessary for the war in Malaca. The reason of this was that the King of Java was very much opposed to the King of Malaca, on account of the frequent tyrannies which were continually practised upon his native subjects whenever they went thither.

Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched the ambassador, and with him he sent to the King of Java one of the elephants which had been captured in Malaca, for in that country they are held in very great esteem, and a piece of scarlet, and another of velvet crimson, and granted him free passage for himself and for the transport of the elephant. And just at this very juncture there arrived at Malaca three *pangajaoas*[1] from the kingdom of Menamcabo, which is at the point of the island of Çamatra on the other side of the south, and brought with them a sum of gold, and they came to seek for cloths of India, for which there is a great demand in their country. The men of this kingdom are very well made, and of fair complexion; they walk about always well dressed, clad in their silken *bajus*,[2] and wearing their *crisis* with sheaths adorned with gold and precious stones in their girdles. These are a people of good manners and truthful character; they are Hindoos; they

[1] See p. 60 *n.*

[2] *Baju*, a kind of garment worn by the Indian ladies.—*Vieyra.* "Camisa de meyo corpo."—*Bluteau.*

have a great veneration for a certain golden head-dress[1] which, as they relate, Alexander [the Great] left there with them when he conquered that country.

Now that Afonso Dalboquerque had dispatched all these messengers, he determined to send a party to explore the islands of Maluco, and all the others of that archipelago,[2] for he had been informed that there were many of them; and he made ready three ships, of which he conferred the chief captaincy upon Antonio Dabreu, of whom I have already written how he was wounded in the junk with which he attacked the bridge at Malaca,[3] and he indeed quite deserved this honour on account of his dashing spirit and chivalrous character. And of the other two ships he gave the captaincy to Francisco Serrão and Simão Afonso; and for pilots he appointed Luis Botim, and Gonçalo de Oliveira, and Francisco Rodriguez, a man of youthful age, who had always had employment in India as a pilot, and knew very well how to set up a memorial monument[4] if it were required, and this indeed was the object of Afonso Dalboquerque in sending him there. And with them he sent two native pilots; and as factor João Freire, servant of the Queen D. Leonor; and Diogo Borges, servant of the King D. Manuel, to be the scrivener. And he prepared a junk laden with various kinds of merchandise, whereof he gave part to Ninachatu, and to a Hindoo whose name was Cogequirmani,[5] whose wife and children were settled with

[1] *Carapuça de ouro.*"

[2] It is doubtful whether this refers to the group of Moluccas or Spice Islands, 0 deg. 0 min., 127 deg. 30 min. E., as Borneo lays between them and the Malay peninsula. Probably the term was employed generally for the multitudinous groups of small islands lying on the equator between Asia and Australia in the Pacific.

[3] See p. 121.

[4] *Padrão*, a post or pillar on which was engraved an inscription, set up in accordance with the custom usually adopted by the discoverers of new countries.

[5] *i.e.*, Khoja Kirmânî, the "Merchant of Kirman", or Kerman, one of the provinces of the Persian Empire. Here, as frequently is the case

him in Malaca, and this one went as captain of the junk. And because there was very little to do in getting the junk ready he set out two or three days before our fleet.

And the instructions which Afonso Dalboquerque gave to Antonio Dabreu were, on no account whatever on that voyage to take any prizes, and to go on board of no vessel whatever, nor to consent to any of his men going on shore, but in all the harbours and at all the islands at which he might touch to give presents and gifts to the kings and lords of the country, and for this purpose he ordered that there should be given out many pieces of scarlet and velvets of Méca, and many other kinds of merchandise; and, further, he gave orders that the captain should not interfere with a single ship of Malaca or of the other parts (whether they belonged to the Moors or to the Hindoos) which he might meet with in these Clove islands[1] or Apple islands[2] taking in cargo, but rather shew them favour and give them as much assistance as he possibly could; and, in the same way that such ships as these negotiated for their cargo, so also in like manner was he to act for his cargo, observing all the customs of the respective countries. But whatever might happen not one of the captains was to go on land, except only the factor and scrivener with two or three to accompany them.

These ships carried a hundred and twenty Portuguese and twenty captive slaves to work at the pumps; and they went very well supplied with provisions and artillery, and had on board plenty of tow and pitch, and caulkers, in order that if necessity should arise they might go and overhaul their ships at the cape of a large island (which lies at a distance of four days' sail from the clove islands), which is

throughout the *Commentaries*, the Portuguese interpreter appears to mistake the title or designation of the individual for his proper name.

[1] *Em essas Ilhas do Cravo.* The Molucca Islands are known even now under the name of the Spice Islands. [2] *Ou das Maçans.*

called Amboino,[1] for we have already a knowledge of the rise and fall of the tide there. And when they were all quite prepared they set out in the month of November.

And as soon as Antonio de Abreu had set sail, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to make ready a very large new junk, of which he gave part to Ninachatu and the other merchants of Malaca, and he ordered that it should be laden with much merchandise of Cambaya, which had been captured on the voyage from India to Malaca, and that the vessels should go to Pacé[2] to take in a cargo of pepper to be stored up in the fortress, in case of the Chinese, or Gores (whose arrival he was expecting) coming in search for a cargo. And all the other merchants and chitins of Malaca began to prosecute their trading voyages, and to arrange their commercial undertakings in such a manner that in a very short space of time the brisk trade which was carried on in Malaca began to be very celebrated. And at the report of the good treatment which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had ordered to be shown to all the shipping which touched Malaca with merchandise, they began to make their voyages thither from all parts, and every one of them found something in the way of a cargo to carry back to their own country.

[1] *Amboino;* Amboina Island, 3 deg. 45 min. S., 128 deg. 15 min. E.; a little to the south of the island of Ceram. Amboina is a high island, eleven leagues in extent N.E. and S.W., the largest of those called the Clove Islands. The great bay extends about seven leagues into the island, separating it nearly into two parts. Amboina Bay is formed at the entrance by two high points, that of Allang on the west side, and Noessaniva Point to the eastward; they are steep-to; situated in lat. 3 deg. 47 min. S., long. 128 deg. 6 min. E., and bear nearly E. and W. of each other, distant six miles. About three cables' lengths from Noessaniva Point, in a S.S.E. direction, there is a narrow bank of sand, stretching E. and W., having soundings of fifteen to twenty fathoms on it, upon which a ship might anchor when calm. The tides in the bay are very irregular, being governed chiefly by the winds, and rise about six or seven feet.—Horsburgh, *India Directory*, vol. ii, p. 714. Eighth Edition. London, 1864.

[2] *Pacé;* see p. 59 *n*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the Council which the great Alfonso Dalboquerque held with the Captains respecting the order in which he should leave the management of affairs at Malaca, and some ordinances which he made for the government of the country before his departure for India.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had concluded his dispatch of all the matters which I have related, he ordered that a meeting of all the captains, *Fidalgoes,* and servants of the King throughout the fleet should be convened, and then he told them that the fortress of Malaca was now completed in the way in which they beheld it, with plenty of artillery within it, capable of defending itself successfully against all the powers of the Kings of these parts who could come against it: that the monsoon favourable for a voyage to India was now blowing, and that it was very necessary for them to set sail, for the condition of affairs at Goa was so unsettled, that he could not tell in what state they were; therefore he desired them earnestly to declare to him the policy which he ought to carry out concerning the government of Malaca, and what number of men, and how much artillery he ought to leave in the fortress, and how many vessels, and whether he should appoint a captain of the sea or not, or whether one alone would be sufficient on sea and on land, and whether or not he should remove certain principal Moors of the city of whom there was some suspicion.

In the Council there arose different opinions, and at the end of all it was arranged that there should be a Captain in the Fortress and a Captain of the Fleet in the Sea, and that the Captain of the Sea should be under the orders of the Captain of the Fortress (this was so arranged to avoid the shameful deeds done in India, which had then already taken place, but Afonso Dalboquerque always punished them with great rigour as long as he was Governor of that country),

and that he should take an oath of homage to the Captain of the Fortress to obey him in all things, and all the Captains do so, as it were to the proper person of his Lordship; and if it should happen that God should dispose of the Captain of the Fortress, then the Captain of the Sea should succeed to be the Captain of it, until provision could be made.

As soon as this had been agreed to by all, Afonso Dalboquerque appointed Ruy de Brito Patalim, Captain of the Fortress, and Fernão Perez Dandrade, Chief Captain of the Sea, and as Captains of the vessels which were to remain under his orders, Lopo de Azevedo, who was to be Vice-Captain, Christovão Graces, Aires Pereira, Antonio de Azevedo, Pero de Faria, Christovão Mascarenhas, Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, and João Lopez Dalvim. And Antonio de Abreu also had orders to remain there with his Captains, whenever he returned from Maluco. And he appointed Ruy de Araujo—owing to the great obligation which he was under to him—Factor and Chief *Alcaide* and Overseer of the Fortress; and Francisco de Azevedo and Pero Salgado, Scriveners of the Fortress; and João Jorge, Receiver (*Almoxarife*) of the Supplies, and Jacome Fernandez his Scrivener; and Francisco Cardoso, *Almoxarife* of the Armoury, and Bras Afonso his Scrivener; and as Manager for the Defunct and of the Hospital, Christovão Dalmeida, and Diogo Camacho for his Scrivener, and Bastião Gallego, *Meirinho* of the Fortress. And he also appointed Governors of the land (not, however, beyond the superior jurisdiction of the Captain of the Fortress), of the Hindoos, Ninachatu; and of the Moors a *Caciz*[1] of his; and of the Javanese of the district of Dupe, Regunecerage, a Moor; and of the other part of the city, Tuão Calascar, a Javanese by birth; and he appointed Ruy de Araujo to be decider of their disputes and differences, and whenever the course of justice

[1] *Caciz*, see p. 69.

required the action of a higher court, the Captain of the Fortress was paramount over all.

This having been thus arranged, when the merchants of the country received information that Afonso Dalboquerque was firmly resolved to set sail for India, they made their way to him, and one among them, in the name of them all, declared to him that they had learned how his Lordship desired to set sail and leave them, for they were astonished beyond measure that he should leave an undertaking so important and so rich as was the City of Malaca and go away, for the well-being of the city without him at its head could not be maintained. And since he had in his hands the government of the largest city there was in the world, he ought not to leave it to destruction in favour of any other undertaking, but if he was going to do so from want of money, they, for their part, would give him as much gold, silver, and merchandize as he had need of, yea, and they would spend all the rest of their property in the service of the King of Portugal, and in his service, and therefore they begged him earnestly that he would not quit the city until its affairs had become more settled.

Afonso Dalboquerque thanked them very much for their offers, giving them certain reasons why it was necessary that he should return to India, but he would promise that he would quickly return to visit them, and for the security and defence of the city he would leave the fortress provided with plenty of artillery, and many Portuguese Cavaliers to defend it against any power in the world; and for the security of the sea and for protection of their merchant trade, a Fleet with many *Fidalgoes* and Cavaliers. The merchants replied that when he was in Malaca his name alone was sufficient for its defence and maintenance for a hundred years, and therefore they begged he would not leave them, and so they went on enlarging on their subject with good words and praises of his character.

Again, Afonso Dalboquerque thanked them for the confidence which they reposed in him, and told them that for his own part he would be very glad to remain there to perform what they desired of him, but that he was compelled to go to India, because the fortress of Goa had yet to be completed, and he did not know how affairs had gone since his departure.

As soon as this audience which he held with the merchants was over, being now quite ready for his departure, he was detained yet another day; for the King of Pacé, whom he had captured on the voyage from India (as I have already related[1]), and kept in his own house, treating him with all the courtesy and ceremony which was due to his rank, had secretly disappeared for two days, and no one knew whither he had gone.

Afonso Dalboquerque, after using all diligence to get him into his hands again, and perceiving that it was an useless search, took leave of the captains and all those who were to remain behind, and proceeded to embark in the ship *Flor de la Mar*,[2] and Pero Dalpoem, auditor of India, in the ship *Trindade;* and Jorge Nunez de Lião in the ship *Enxobregas;* and Simão Martinz in a large junk which was going to sail laden with many kinds of merchandise which had been taken at the sacking of the city. And Simão Martinz took with him in the junk thirteen Portuguese and fifty men of Malabar from Cochim to form the guard; and sixty Javanese carpenters of the dockyard, very handy workmen, whom Afonso Dalboquerque carried with their wives and children to serve the King of Portugal at Cochim in repairing the ships, because they were very much needed in India.

The Governor of Pacé, who had risen up in rebellion

[1] See p. 64.

[2] "Partio o Governador de Malaca em primeyro de Dezembro d'este anno [1511].—*Correa*, *l.c.*, p. 258.

against the king (as has been already related), hearing that Malaca had been taken by the Portuguese, full of fear of Afonso Dalboquerque, submitted himself to be a vassal of the King of Portugal; and Afonso Dalboquerque received him, because the rightful king would not accept his offers, and from that time forward the governor was always at the service and under the orders of Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Oration which Camillo Portio made to the Pope Leo the Tenth in praise of the capture of Malaca; and of the victories gained by the Portuguese in their conquest of India.

This kingdom having now been taken, and a fortress built in the city of Malaca, the great Afonso Dalboquerque immediately apprised the King D. Manuel of the state in which its affairs were placed; and the king, in order to render them of greater importance (because this *Golden Chersonese*[1] is greatly celebrated by all authors both ancient and modern), wrote letters[2] to inform the Pope Leo the

[1] See p. 71.

[2] "In hujus anni [1513] exitu Rex Emmanuel tres legatos ad Leonem decimum Pontificem Maximum, cum muneribus regia magnificentia dignis, instituit. Princeps legationis Tristanus Cugna fuit. Collegæ duo jurisconsulti magnæ apud Lusitanos auctoritatis extitere. Unus Jacobus Paciecus, alter Joannes Faria nominabatur. Per illos Pontifici sacras vestes ex auro, cum multis gemmis opere excellenti perfectis dono misit. Vasa præterea ex auro, atque monilia maximi ponderis et pretii vestibus adjecit. Opus erat ejusmodi, ut cum materia nihil pretiosius excogitari posset, artificium tamen ipsam materiam multis partibus superaret.

"Misit præterea elephantum Indicum miræ magnitudinis, quem non solum Romæ, ubi homines, post inclinatum Romanæ majestatis amplitudinem, illud animal nunquam oculis aspexeraut, sed quacumque gradum inferebat, nemo circumfluentem undique turbam, admiratione obstupefactam, submovere poterat. Panthera etiam venatica missa fuit, quod munus hand scio, an olim Romæ Ædiles, cùm ludos magnificentissimos apparabant, et præter alias immanes beluas, pantheras etiam in

Tenth. And when he had been notified by João de Faria, the Portuguese Ambassador who was then at Rome, of the great victories of the Portuguese which they had gained in those parts of the world by the assiduity, valour, and spirit of this great Afonso Dalboquerque, he ordered that a solemn Procession[1] should be made in which he himself took part;

publicis spectaculis exhibebant, præstare potuerint. Ea namque mansuefacta, non in circo cum bestiariis, sed in sylvis cum apris atque cervis prælium committebat, et principibus qui venationibus oblectantur, plurimum voluptatis afferebat. Ea insidebat equi Persici tergo, integumentis auratis eleganter instrati. Equum regebat Persa venator eximius, qui ad id munus obeundum ab Armuzii rege cum equo et Panthera missus fuerat.

"Tristanus Cugna cùm esset vir et nobilitate, et auctoritate, et existimatione non vulgari præditus, tum propriis sumptibus eam legationem exornandam susceperat. Ducebat autem secum tres filios et cognatorum copiam, amplamque familiam quibus stipatus non abjecti Principis speciem præ se ferebat. Legationis scriba, Nicolaus Faria, qui equis Regiis curandis præerat, agebat equum pulcherrimum, ephippiis aureis, et phaleris aureis, emblematis et gemmis maximi pretii distinctis instratum et ornatum, qui etiam Pontifici donandus erat."—*Hieron. Osorii de Rebus Emmanuelis Regis. Col. Agr.*, 1574, fol. 297*b*. Ciaconius, in his *Vitæ Pontificum* (tom iii, A.D. 1513, cols. 328-9), repeats this with an interesting anecdote of the sagacity of the elephant mentioned in the foregoing extracts.

[1] "Such a concurrence of great and prosperous events induced the Pope to direct the celebration of a public thanksgiving in Rome, which was accordingly observed with extraordinary pomp and splendid processions to the churches of S. Maria del Popolo and S. Agostino; in which the pontiff appeared in person, and by the propriety and decorum which always distinguished him on public occasions, gave additional dignity to the ceremony. At the same time he ordered Camillo Portio to pronounce, in the pontifical chapel, a Latin oration in praise of the character and actions of the King of Portugal, who had communicated to him his success, and testified his dutiful obedience to the Roman Court, and his personal attachment to the supreme pontiff.

"This mutual interchange of civility and respect between the King of Portugal and the pontiff was, however, rendered much more conspicuous by a splendid embassy from the Portuguese monarch, which soon afterwards arrived at Rome, to the great delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The chief ambassador on this occasion was the celebrated Tristano Cugna, who had himself held a principal command in the ex-

and, on returning to the Sacred Palace, Camillo Portio,[1] in the presence of every one, made him the following

pedition to the East, and had acquired great honour by his conduct and courage in its prosecution. He was accompanied by Jacopo Pacheco and Giovanni Faria, professors of the law, of great eminence and authority. Three sons of Cugna, with many others of his relatives and friends, accompanied the procession, which was met at the gates of the city by a select body of cardinals and prelates, who conducted the strangers to the palaces appointed for their residence. But the respectability of the envoys was of less importance in the eyes of the populace than the singular and magnificent presents for the Pope by which they were accompanied. Among these were an elephant of extraordinary size, two leopards, a panther, and other uncommon animals. Several Persian horses, richly caparisoned, appeared also in the train, mounted by natives of the same country dressed in their proper habits. To these was added a profusion of articles of inestimable value; pontifical vest-

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1 Camillo Portio, Porcio, Portius, or Porcarius, must not be confounded with another personage of the same name, who flourished later in the sixteenth century. He was a Roman of noble birth, a canon of St. Peter's, Rome, and appointed by Pope Leo X, on the 4th March 1517, Bishop of Teramo (Theramum or Aprutium), the episcopal city of the Abruzzi. He is celebrated as a poet and orator. (See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana.* Modena, 1792, 4to, tom. vii, pt. 3, p. 1015.—*Nuova Biblioteca Popolare; Opere di C. Porzio,* P. Giordani Torino, 1852, 8vo, p. 13.—Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 371, "Vir varia literatura clarus".—Richard et Giraud, *Bibliothèque Sacrée*, vol. xxiv, p. 427.) According to Giordani, Camillo Porcio died in 1521. Ughelli and Richard place his death in 1522. The following note is of interest:—

"Camillus Portius, ut meos quoque cives, in scenam hanc inducam, quantæ fuerit celebritatis, ignorat nemo, sive ille Romanam cathedram magno omnium stupore, et admiratione decoraret, sive pro rostris declamaret, ut nihil ejus dictione suavius, nihil jucundius, nihil expolitius, haberetur. Is tamen simulac ab Leone Decimo Pontifice Maximo Aprutinæ est Ecclesiæ præfectus, acerbissimâ diuturni cujusdam morbi, nulli medicorum cogniti, correptus inclementiâ, postquam miserabili cruciatu menses plurimos decubuit afflictatus, morbi demum ejus truculentiâ, et totius corporis doloribus oppressus, virente adhuc ætate animam egit, incredibili apud omnes sui relicto desiderio."—*Joannis Pierii Valeriani Bellunensis de Literatorum Infelicitate Libri Duo.* Amstel., 1647, p. 15.

ORATION in October of the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen :—

"If ever at any time, Most Blessed Father, the Christian people had reason to give thanks to the Lord, and magnify his strength and power for an undertaking begun with bravery and daring, and brought to a fortunate end, this year stands forth on this account as the most brilliant

ments, adorned with gold and jewels, vases, and other implements for the celebration of sacred rites, and a covering for the altar, of the most exquisite workmanship. A herald, bearing the arms of the Portuguese sovereign, led the procession. On their arrival at the pontifical palace, where the Pope stood at the windows to see them pass, the elephant stopped, and, kneeling before his Holiness, bowed himself thrice to the ground. A large vessel was here provided and filled with water, which the elephant drew up into his trunk and showered down again on the adjacent multitude, dispersing no small portion of it among the more polite spectators at the windows, to the great entertainment of the Pontiff.

"Six days afterwards the ambassadors were admitted to a public audience, on which occasion the procession was repeated. The Pope, surrounded by the cardinals and prelates of the church, and attended by the ambassadors of foreign states and all the officers of his court, was addressed in a Latin oration by Pacheco, at the conclusion of which Leo replied to him in the same language, highly commending the king for his devotion to the Holy See. Of this opportunity the Pontiff also availed himself, to recommend the maintenance of peace among the states of Europe and the union of their arms against the Turks, expressing himself with such promptitude, seriousness, and elegance, as to obtain the unanimous admiration of the auditors. On the following day the presents from the king were brought into the conservatory of the gardens, adjoining the pontifical palace, where, on the introduction of animals proper for that purpose, the wild beasts displayed their agility in taking, and their ferocity in devouring, their prey: a spectacle which humanity would have spared, but which was probably highly gratifying to the Pontiff, who was devoted to the pleasures of the chase. The Portuguese monarch had intended to have surprised the Roman people with the sight of another and yet rarer animal, which had not been seen in Rome for many ages; but the rhinoceros, which he had brought from the East with this view, unfortunately perished in the attempt to get him on board the vessel prepared to transport him to Italy."—William Roscoe's *Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth.* London, 1846, vol. i, pp. 362, 363.

example which has as yet occurred, wherein our Lord God, by reason of his profound pity for his people, has deemed it right to increase their pleasure with fresh joy, and their prosperity with new and universal occasions of rejoicing. For in addition to His elevation of your holiness this year to the majesty of the pontifical throne, more for the universal profit of Christendom than for any particular benefit to your own self, He yet further made your holiness the sole refuge and safeguard in matters almost hopelessly ruined, and at a time when the whole world is occupied in the prosecution of wars, in order that with greater rejoicings his new choice might be inaugurated. At this very juncture it was that He gave to the most puissant and very fortunate and invincible King D. Manuel of Portugal so many and such great victories and triumphs over his enemies, that one may easily believe that the Lord is fighting on our side; and indeed that in this last brilliant enterprise, which was fought out victoriously in His name, He has given us a sign that from this day forward we should have confidence in Him to confer upon us signal victories, if we will only make up our determination to use that prestige which belongs naturally to us, and which is so universally admitted and dreaded among barbarian nations.

"Is it possible that there may haply be some one who is capable of deeming as works performed by the hands of men those deeds which have lately been accomplished by the Portuguese in India, under the captainship of the valiant Afonso Dalboquerque? So many cities of unmeasured wealth and immense strength entered by force of arms? so many various nations conquered? so many tribes overcome in battle? and this, too, with a very disproportionate number of soldiers, who were always able to come victoriously out of every enterprise to which they had devoted themselves. Yea, and more than this, they compelled many kings to become tributaries, after having been reduced to

the state of subjects by the valour of the arms of Portugal: and even those who were not reached by the perils of the war, in order to secure their immunity from him, either came in person or sent their ambassadors with great earnestness to sue for peace and alliance. And for this reason the noble nature of these victories is greater and more excellent, because they are justly celebrated, not for the slaughter and destruction which was so frequently dealt out to the enemy, but for the notable Portuguese spirit, whereby they were gained; and it was to this spirit that God thus showed His favour; that the victories of the present age should put those of the past ages out of remembrance in such a manner that the spoils of the one should exceed the spoils of the other, and yet with these victories there should be added so many kings conquered, and all the other potentates who were unwilling to measure their strength against the intrepidity of the Portuguese arms, compelled to enter into an alliance.

"Wherefore, Most Blessed Father, your holiness proceeds with great prudence and Christian zeal, like all the rest in this respect, when for a victory of so much importance as this is (and I know not if any one could wish for a greater one), which at such a happy season our Lord has been pleased to grant to the most Christian King D. Manuel, you order solemn processions to take place, and accompany them in your own person, in order that due thanks may be given to the Lord, and to all the saints for such a great mark of His mercy as this is.

"For this is not a victory which has been gained over a warlike tribe, or over a fortified and obstinately defended city, but over that great and celebrated land of India, wherein, after the subjecting by Portuguese arms of the exceedingly rich kingdoms of Goa and Ormuz, and making them tributary, in such a manner that from the hands of the valiant Captain Afonso Dalboquerque, in the name of the King of Portugal, his lord, these kingdoms received the

persons who were appointed to govern them, now, as a result of these great victories by sea as well as by land, there lies overthrown that most fertile and rich kingdom of Malaca, called by the ancients, on account of its enormous wealth, *Golden*,[1] for they desired by this appellation (given never to any other land) to signify the great extent of its immense sources of wealth; and not only in the conquest of these kingdoms is our mind occupied with the greatness of them, but (and this is of no small importance in these present times in which we live) we have to bear in mind that as for the barbarians whom before this event the report of our prowess had not reached, now, I say, the peril of these kingdoms terrifies those barbarians to whose lands we have opened the roads, and of whom up to the present time we have had no knowledge whatever.

"Thus, for example, there is thrown open to us by the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz the road whereby the Holy House of Jerusalem (the country in which our Saviour was born) can again be recovered and rescued from the hands of those infidels who tyrannically and unrighteously possess it, for into their hearts we have instilled a dread which makes them fear lest they be compelled to share in the peril which has befallen their comrades. And in all these matters I am at a loss to decide to which of two facts I ought to give the greater praise, to the zeal and good fortune of the most puissant King D. Manuel, who with so much trouble and expenditure of treasure has desired to extend the name of Christ to the regions so far distant, and to nations foreign to our intercourse, with the intent that where the law of Christ had never before been in force there might he plant the flag of His Holy Cross; or to the spirit, understanding, and bravery of Portuguese minds, which with an effort of daring never before witnessed, and with a thoroughly determined eagerness to augment the Christian

[1] See p. 71.

religion, have passed over into climes so different from their native land, and there have been compelled to do battle, not only with cruel and inhuman enemies, but also with hunger itself, thirst, cold, and heat insufferable: and yet with all this to despise every one of the troubles that could possibly supervene, in order to accomplish the obligations which, at the orders of their king, they had cheerfully undertaken to perform.

"And in these enterprises those who will take the trouble to look into the matter may easily perceive the extensive nature of the Lord's mercies, when they bear in mind the smallness of the heroic band which gained possession of the whole of India. For although there were not so many as three thousand Portuguese souls in the whole of the fleet, they overcame so many kingdoms of that country and took them by force of arms; and so many kings, who were so terrified at the fame of the Portuguese, that they came in humble guise to beg for peace, while those who were unwilling to accept the terms of peace had to receive by force the laws imposed upon them by the hands of their conquerors: yea, and some among them, whom it pleased the Lord to enlighten, received baptism and embraced the Christian faith, in such a way that, even in climes so remote as these are, Christians were found with Christians: and as the ultimate result of these victories, gained by means of the same limited number of men, and even fewer still,—for they were obliged to detach some of the number to form the garrisons of the kingdoms that had been captured—we behold Malaca taken, her King conquered, and put to flight with a small remnant of his army that could barely manage to follow him, the greater part of it having met their death by the sword; and thus is this city of such noble fame, the capital of such a rich kingdom, in the power of Christians. This, Most Blessed Father, is that *Golden Chersonese*[1]

[1] See p. 71.

which lies at the other end of that great gulf wherein the River Ganges discharges her waters into the sea, so famous for her immense wealth, that on account of the very many kinds and very great worth of her merchandize, which is imported thither from different countries, as well as on account of the no less rich materials which are exported therefrom, she stands in estimation of being the noblest place of the whole of India; and this is but reasonable, for there is not a single thing of those which are desirable in this life, whereof she does not contain a very great abundance.

"There reigned in Malaca a King, who was, as to his faith, a Moor, as to treasures, rich and powerful, and possessed of a navy, and a very bitter enemy of the Christian name, especially of the Portuguese, for about two years previously he had treacherously sought the death of a noble Portuguese Captain who had arrived at this port, and the celebrated Captain Afonso Dalboquerque—(a name deserving of all praise for his illustrious deeds)—who at that time, in the name of the most puissant King D. Manuel, governed India, having pacified and established in security the other kingdoms and their fortresses of which in that country on this side of the Ganges, or as the Portuguese call it 'inside the cape of Comorim', he had gained possession, made up his mind to avenge the treason which the King of Malaca had practised towards the Portuguese, and by way of satisfaction for this deed to deprive him of his kingdom; and thus having arrived in good season at Malaca, he put himself in array to attack the city, not only by land but also by sea.

"The King of the country, who had never allowed his thoughts to be disturbed by the idea of such an event, perceiving himself not to be so well prepared as he wished to be for defending himself, thought it right to resort to artifice, and sent a message of peaceful import to Afonso Dalboquerque, the spirited avenger of the treason which had

been shewn to the Portuguese, and began with dilatory proceedings to lengthen out the time for the settlement of the measures for peace, for which he was pretending to treat, and to temporise with him while, at the same time, he continued to fortify himself; but these measures of precaution did not escape the notice of the Portuguese, who put themselves in position for attacking the city; and manning their small craft, with breasts inflamed with a spirited valour, swooped down upon the coast; and bringing into action the artillery they carried with them, began to disperse the Moors so that they might effect an entrance into the city with less danger to themselves.

"The King of Malaca, finding himself thrown into this difficulty, and that he was now driven into a position in which he was compelled to defend himself by force of arms, and that now artifices were no longer of any avail, sets in order his defence with his men behind their stockades, while he himself mounted upon an elephant keeps on going up and down among them urging them on, and calling upon them that they must not think of failing their country in its present need, and in the supreme necessity which had fallen upon it. And now the Portuguese, with a spirit overjoyed and animated, had reached the wall, and the guns along the shore were pouring forth their fire, when the inhabitants of the city began to grow alarmed, their heart failed them, and deserting their stockades, which they had maintained for a short time only, commenced their flight; the Portuguese pursuing them with victorious exultation, and following closely pell-mell in the pursuit after the routed enemy, got into the city, and reached the very heart of it, where, upon a bridge which stood over a river along which the shipping enters, running through the midst of the city, the King had made his last stand, and posted the main force of his army, and strengthening the defences of the stockades here more and more, he rallied in it those

who were in flight; for as the river could not be forded by the Portuguese, he fortified himself on the bridge.

"Here it was that the contest grew sharper, nevertheless the Portuguese, favoured with the hope of victory (the enemy being somewhat dashed with dread of the Portuguese arms) fought so fiercely with the infidels, that taking no precautions against their arms, and caring nought for their elephants with the castles full of archers, and despising the difficulty of the ford, with their swords carved out an open way through the midst of the enemy, some of whom out of sheer despair threw themselves upon the weapons of the Portuguese, while others cast themselves into the river to gain safety; finally, after the space of a few hours, all were in full flight, and the King, wounded as he was, along with them.

"The city was then entered and pillaged, a large number of the enemy put to death. In it was found an immense quantity of gold and silver, and they found also very many stores and munitions of war, among which there were two thousand pieces of artillery. Among the spoils there were taken seven elephants, caparisoned for battle, with their castles and their harness woven with gold and very richly garnished; so that not only the human beings, but even the brute beasts, of that kingdom were put under obedience to the Portuguese empire.

"O good God, O mighty Lord, Thine is the power,[1] Thine the might;[2] Thy right hand hath conferred the valour; Thy right hand exalted us: for how could so strongly fortified a city as this have been entered, and

[1] "Thine, O Lord is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty."—1 Chron. xxix, 11; cf. also 1 Chron. xxix, 12; Matth. vi, 13.

[2] "Rulest thou not over all the kingdoms of the heathen? and in thine hand is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee?"—2 Chron. xx, 6.

so powerful a King be cast out from it, if Thou hadst not given us Thy help and Thy favour. Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory. Thou hast broken the strength[1] of the enemy. Thou hast made the races subject unto us, and hast put them under our feet.[2] Thou didst send forth thine arrows,[3] and overcamedst them, with Thy lightnings Thou didst scatter them, Thou wert the Captain,[4] Thou the Counsellor,[5] Thou didst strike fear into our enemies, Thou madest them flee away. Not for our sakes, Lord, not for our sakes, but for the glory of Thy name.

"But wherefore do I thus dwell so much upon the capture of Malaca, for what was done with the ruins of the city after it was taken is no less worthy of narration. Of it and of its mosques there was immediately constructed a fortress, strong enough to act as a check upon that turbulent people, and Governors were appointed over them every year, under whose government they might live, and laws whereby they might be upheld, in the dispensation of justice, and after this treaties of peace were concluded with many kings of countries adjacent to it, as, for example, the Kings of Pegú, Samatra, Pedir, Pacé, the Javanese, and lastly, even the Chinese of the far distant East, so celebrated on account of their merchant wares.

"And in order that there should not be wanting to the Portuguese an occasion of consolidating their forces, and by means of them extending that empire which had been by their employment acquired, the illustrious Afonso Dalbo-

1 "I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen."—Hag. ii, 22.

2 "He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet."—Ps. xlvii, 3.

3 "His arrow shall go forth as the lightning."—Zach. ix, 14. "Cast forth lightning, and scatter them; shoot out thine arrows, and destroy them."—Ps. cxliv, 6.

4 "God himself is with us for our captain."—2 Chron. xiii, 2.

5 "Who hath been his counsellor."—Rom. xi, 34.

querque, having sailed away from Malaca,[1] returned to Goa; and how shall I describe the victory which he gained? For it does not appear to be so much a victory as a Divine dispensation which would have affairs turn out thus; for this illustrious captain, having gained possession of the island and kingdom of Goa by force of arms upon two occasions, leaving it, at the time of his setting out, in the most fortified condition that he could, while he prosecuted his voyage to Malaca, and visited the remaining fortresses of India. The Hidalcão, who had been lord of this city, seeing that Afonso Dalboquerque was no longer at hand to defend it, came down and besieged it with a great force of soldiers on foot and horse, and built a fortress close to an arm of the sea, which runs up into the land and surrounds the island; and so causing his men to pass over to the island, he instructed them with constant skirmishes and surprises to tire out the Portuguese who were left in the fortress, and these, besieged as they were by so powerful an enemy, found themselves in great straits and necessity. But in accordance with our Lord's will, at the very time while they were in this difficulty, the fleet, which was returning from Malaca with the honour of such a great victory, came into sight; and at its coming so great was the fear of the enemies, that without waiting for the Portuguese forces to disembark, they raised the siege and hastened away with as much haste as they had first shown at their coming.

"We read concerning that great Alexander, Prince of Macedon, that when he arrived at the country of India, and had assaulted a fortified city well defended by its inhabitants, he held it to be of such great importance, and it appeared to be so successful a matter to have captured the place, that his soldiers did not fail to declare that he was

[1] From this paragraph to the end of the oration, the orator deals with events connected with Portuguese rule in India, which the *Commentaries* are about to describe in the succeeding chapters of the volume.

more valiant than Hercules. If this be so, what triumphs, what sovereign honour is due to the King D. Manuel, who has subjects by whose hands and might he has not only conquered by force of arms a city of India, but with a continued round of his victories kept on going about India itself—a country never beheld by the Romans, unknown to the Goths, and in vain assailed on many occasions by the famous Sesostris,[1] King of Egypt, Cyrus,[2] and Semiramis.[3]

"When Augustus Cæsar had become monarch he esteemed it as the greatest happiness he could enjoy, among his other pleasures, to be visited by the kings of India with presents, and that they sent him their ambassadors to ask for peace.

"Who can well recount the great services which have been offered to the all-unconquered King D. Manuel by the kings of India? the tribute which they have paid him? the amity which they have besought of him? and, lastly, the

[1] "Sed Germanicus....... visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia: et manebant structis molibus literæ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat, 'habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu Regem RHAMSEN,* Libya, Æthiopia, MEDISQUE et PERSIS et BACTRIANO ac SCYTHA, potitum'," etc.—Tacit., *Annal.*, ii, 60.

[2] This refers to the inheritance by Cyrus of the territory of his uncle Cyaxaras, who thereby became master of nearly all Asia. His empire included Babylon, Assyria, the Medes, the Persians, and Asia Minor.

[3] Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, subjugated Arabia, Egypt, part of Ethiopia and Libya, and the whole of Asia as far as the Indus; but, having experienced a check on the banks of that river, did not push her conquests any further in that direction.

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* Valpy's Delphin edit. of 1821, has the following note here, to shew the identity of Sesostris and Rameses: "Eadem dicuntur de Sesotride a Diodoro. 'Armais' apud Josephum, unde hos Reges depromsit Eusebius frater Sesothios, ipso fratre expeditionem in Asiam faciente, invasit regnum Ægypti, etc. Iste SESOTHIOS trinominis fuit, teste Manethone. Vocatus enim est RAMESSES et præterea ÆGYPTOS. Sed Josephus hæc nomina permiscuit. Nam SESOTHIS Josephi est SESŌSTRIS Herodoti et SESOŌSTIS Diodori."

terms of vassalage which almost all of them have been compelled to accept at the hand and by the might of this illustrious captain? For apart from those who by force of arms Afonso Dalboquerque had rendered tributary, there remained not a single king of India by whom he was not approached with services of an infinite importance; by the King of Cambaya, by the powerful King of Narsinga, who when he was apprised of the victory of Malaca transmitted by his ambassadors a cup of gold, and a golden sword, with a ruby of inestimable value set in the handle, and sent word to beg that Afonso Dalboquerque would think fit graciously to make use of him and of his kingdom. But wherefore do I tarry in relating the gold and the precious stones, and articles of value which the infidels sent to him? I will pass on to what is of far greater importance. The celebrated Preste João, lord of the whole of Ethiopia which lies below Egypt, in order to gain him over as his friend, sent him not gold, nor precious stones, but he sent him that which he held in much greater estimation, and which Afonso Dalboquerque himself valued far more highly, and this was a large piece of the wood of the True Cross;[1] and with it he sent word to say that he felt he was justified in thus sending him that part of the True Cross[2] wherein we have been redeemed, because he had by force of arms unfolded the banner of the Holy Cross so far away from his fatherland.

"Historians write that Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was the successor of Alexander in the lordship of Macedonia, on account of his assiduity in capturing cities, was called Poliorcetes, which in the Greek language signifies the taker of cities. What name shall we give then to the excellent captain, Afonso Dalboquerque, since he has taken

[1] *Vera Cruz.* This adjective is very rarely used, except in connection with Cruz, and not always then, as below.

[2] *Verdadeira Cruz.*

so many cities, conquered such kingdoms, dispersed so many armies? What happiness is there which can be compared to that of a king who is the lord of such a subject, who by force of arms destroyed the most powerful kingdom of Calicut? Did he not compel the King of Narsinga, mighty as he was, with all his vassals, and the treasure of kingdoms, and abundance of elephants, to come and sue for peace from the King of Portugal? Did he not force the King of Cambaya to accept terms of peace? Did he not restore their kingdoms to the Kings of Cochim and Cananor after that he had beaten them in battle? Did he not deliver from their heavy thraldom the Christians who lived in India? Did he not gain the kingdom of Ormuz? the kingdom of Goa? the kingdom and Island of Ceylon? And, lastly, not satisfied with so many victories, did not the powerful King Dom Manuel send him to prosecute the war against the grand Sultan of Egypt, and pass the Red Sea? And in order that there should not be any parts of the world to which his victories did not extend, did he not take the noble city of Çafim[1] in Africa?

"All which victories and most auspicious successes of the most invincible King Dom Manuel are just so much the more worthy of praise and honour, in proportion as we ourselves deserve the opprobrium of mankind, for he labours for no other object than to extend throughout the world the Faith of Christ, which has been entrusted to us as the righteous and universal aim of all our exertions, while we are all occupied and overburdened in our attempts to avenge private injuries: he attacks infidel enemies, we are fighting against one another: he acquires for himself new kingdoms and provinces, we by our remissness are losing

[1] *Cafim*, or *Saffi*, the ancient *Rusupis*, a walled town and port of Morocco, to the north of Mogador, taken by the Portuguese in 1508, and abandoned in 1641. See Osorius, lib. v, *ad init.*, for the narrative of the events connected with the Portuguese conquest of this town.

what we already possess, and we shall lose more and more if we do not listen to the Lord, who calls us every day, and cries out to us to awaken.

"Consider, lords, I entreat you by your faith, how many and how serious losses has the Christian religion suffered for the last sixty years in these parts. Are they, peradventure, things that we can possibly forget? Can we recall them to mind without great pain? What of Constantinople?[1] What of Negroponte?[2] What of Lepanto?[3] What of Modon?[4] What of Durazzo?[5] What of the other cities,

[1] Mahomet II, son and successor of Amurath, who was raised to the Ottoman throne in the twentieth year of his age in 1451, conceived the design of achieving the conquest of the Greek Empire, by the taking of Constantinople. He succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties which obstructed this enterprise, in which several of his predecessors had failed. At the head of an army of 300,000 combatants, supported by a fleet of 300 sail, he appeared before that capital, and commenced the siege on the sixth of April, 1453. The besieged, having only from 8,000 to 10,000 men to oppose the superior force of the enemy, yielded to the powerful and redoubled efforts of the Turks, after a vigorous defence of fifty-three days. The city was carried by assault on the 29th of May, and delivered up to the unrestrained pillage of the soldiers. Constantine, the last of the Greek emperors, perished in the first onset, and all the inhabitants were carried into slavery. In the short space of six or seven hours the Turks had cleared the city entirely of all its inhabitants. This conquest was followed by that of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece, and the whole of the Peloponnesus or Morea, as well as most of the islands of the Archipelago. The Greek Empire of Trebizond, on the coast of Asia Minor, submitted in like manner to the law of the conqueror in 1466. *Koch.*

[2] *Negroponte*, the ancient *Eubœa*, wrested by the Turks from the Venetians in 1470.

[3] *Lepanto*, the ancient *Naupactus*, west of Athens, on the northern side of the Gulf of Lepanto. The Turks besieged the city in 1475 without success, but obtained possession of it in 1498. The city was reconquered by the Venetians in 1687, but they lost it again in 1699.

[4] *Modon*, the ancient *Methone*, a fortified town in Messenia, on a rocky projection into the sea south-west of Tripolitza. It has an octagonal tower built upon an isolated rock. A Venetian possession, probably captured and held by the Turks at this period.

[5] *Durazzo*, the ancient *Epidamnus*, and *Dyrrachium*, a maritime town

which to our deep disgrace are in the power of the Turks? What do we look for? except that they should take us asleep, and destroy us while we are unprepared, and kill us before we can put ourselves on our guard. Even now they are making an entry into Hungary; even now they are making war in Sclavonia; even now they scour the sea unchallenged; even now they are seeking to sieze upon Italy.

"Now, therefore, Most Blessed Father, for you have come, as it were a star of salvation in the midst of this unsupportable misery, take precautions against this, pacify these discordant motives, which actuate the Princes of Christendom, put down for ever this miserable war which is raging among them, for no possible good can come of it; put aside all animosity, so that when all are as friends again the arms which one party have prepared against the other, combined together, may be turned against the common enemy,[1] to the end that when he is overcome, and we have recovered the Holy House in union with the King Dom Manuel (who is sending twelve thousand men under command of the Duke of Bragança, his son-in-law, over to Africa), if we turn out victorious we may lift up unto the Lord a trophy of the victory which he has given to us over barbarous nations, and those may be put to confusion who worship idols, and

of Albania, to the south of Scutari. In the middle ages this town was the seat of a Duchy held by the house of Anjou-Sicily. The Sultan Bajazet II (1481-1512), reunited it to the Turkish Empire.

[1] In an assembly held by Pope Pius II at Mantua in 1459 he had, upwards of sixty years before the delivery of this oration, proposed a general association among the powers of the West against the Turks. A crusade was published by his orders, and he was on the point of setting out in person at the head of the expedition when he was suddenly cut off by death, in 1464, at Ancona, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of the confederate troops. This event, added to the terror which the arms of Sultan Mahomet II had created among the Western nations, disconcerted the plans of the crusaders, and was the means of dissolving their confederacy.

put their trust in vain gods, and that they may know the name of the Lord, and admit that He alone is the Mighty One over all the world." Amen.

CHAPTER XL.

The proceedings of the Portuguese in Goa with the Captains of the Hidalcão, who came and besieged the city after the departure of the great Afonso Dalboquerque for Malaca.

The Hidalcão having recalled to mind that which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had sent to declare to his father (while that commander was lying in the river of Goa, as has been already related, when he was no longer able to restrain his temper) that he should yet see his words come to pass, and the city in the power of the Christians, and Milrrhao,[1] the Hindoo, carrying on the government, and farming the revenues of the mainland districts; and having brought himself to imagine that the season was favourable to get possession of his city again, on account of the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque for Malaca, he sent one of his captains, who was called Pulatecão,[2] with a force of infantry and horsemen, to make their way down against Milrrhao, and cast him forth out of the country, and endeavour as much as he could to capture Timoja, who was in company with Milrrhao, and as soon as he had got them into his hands to remain

[1] *Milrrhao;* the latter part of this name is the title *Rao*, used by the Hindoos for a chief or prince, probably derived from *Raja*. Among the Mahrattas it is a title for distinguished persons, whether military or civil, and is assumed by a caste of Sudras pretending to be derived from the primitive *kshatriya*, or military caste. He is called *Merlao* in the early part of this volume. See chapter vi.

[2] *Pulatecão;* here, as is frequently the case in this work, the name and title of the person are combined. *Pulad*, or *Fulad*, are not unknown as personal names in Oriental literature; *Cão* is *Khan*, a title borne by Mohammadan nobles, especially when of Persian or Pathan descent; it is also a common adjunct to Afghan or Pathan names.

quiet as he was, and wait until he should receive instructions how to proceed. Pulatecão, having set forth on his expedition with his camp, as soon as Milrrhao received information of his intended attack, he proceeded to get ready and wait for him with five thousand native peons and fifty mounted men, and sent forward Hicarrhau[1] to defend a pass in the mountain range which the enemy had to traverse, but he was so slow about this that when he reached the pass he found that Pulatecão had already taken possession of it; and Pulatecão with all his men fell upon him, and routed him, and, pursuing him hotly, killed him in his flight, and a large portion of the men who were with him; and, just as he was, without waiting for anything, he fell upon Milrrhao's camp, and put him to rout without any loss of time. And Milrrhao, perceiving himself to be thus worsted, and having no hope of any succour, at the advice of Timoja would not return to Goa, but turned his steps towards Narsinga, and when he arrived at Bisnaga, where the King of Narsinga lived, he met with a very favourable reception, and there it was that Timoja died, shortly after arriving there; and Milrrhao, after the lapse of some days, having received a report from Onor that his brother, who had risen up and taken possession of that kingdom, was dead, begged permission of the king to depart, and proceeded to take possession of that kingdom, and always remained a staunch adherent of the King of Portugal.

Pulatecão, when he found that he had gained this victory, and was in possession of the lands of Goa, forgetting all that the Hidalcão had ordered him to do, desired to follow up his good fortune, and prepared certain rafts and boats which he found at hand, and without meeting with any resistance, crossed over to the Island of Goa, and fortified his position in Benastarim, which position Rodrigo Rabelo, who was the captain of the city,[2] either from carelessness or from

[1] *Hicarrhau;* he is called *Icarao* in chapter vi. [2] See p. 42.

being occupied with other matters, which he considered more necessary, had not fortified, although Afonso Dalboquerque had commanded him to do so before his departure, for it was a place of passage, and a principal pass leading from the mainland to the Island of Goa.

As soon as Pulatecão had fortified Benastarim, with the determination of maintaining the military position there, he made an incursion through the neighbouring Hindoo villages, destroying and burning everything that he found there. But when Rodrigo Rabelo was informed of this he sallied out of the city with thirty mounted men, and the aged Alguazil of Cananor with four hundred Naires arrived with drawn swords and shields, whom Diogo Correa had sent up to his assistance, when he heard the news of the coming of the Hidalcão's forces, fell upon Pulatecão very valiantly and worsted him, and killed fifteen hundred of his Turks and Coraçones. Nevertheless, this sudden accession of good luck caused Rodrigo Rabelo to despise the enemies whom he had overcome, and he set himself in hot pursuit after them with his mounted men. The Turks finding themselves pressed by ours, rallied a party of about sixty at some old ruins of walls, which were on a hill, in order to escape the onrush of our men. Rodrigo Rabelo got up to them, and engaged them, but as the place where they stood was somewhat uphill, and difficult to enter on horseback, the Turks defended themselves with such success that they killed him and Manuel da Cunha who were in the van.

When the remainder of the Portuguese force saw they were left without a captain, they returned again with news of this sad disaster to the city, in which there arose much sadness for the death of Rodrigo Rabelo, because he was a very daring Captain, and of singular bravery. And Pulatecão, with the remainder of his forces, retired back to Benastarim, determined to make war upon the city. The greater number of our party, who did not wish

that Francisco Pantojo, who was entitled to the succession because he was chief *Alcaide* of the fortress, should become Captain, after some dissensions had amongst themselves elected as their Captain Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had left captive in the keep[3], for the reasons already narrated. As soon as this election was made, they all proceeded to the castle, and loosed him, and delivered over to him the government of the city, with an oath which they all took before him, that they would obey him as the representative of the proper person of Afonso Dalboquerque, until he himself should make such arrangements in this matter as should seem best; and as soon as Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos was in possession of the captainship, he wrote to Manuel de Lacerda, who was making his way as chief Captain of a fleet against Calicut,[3] giving him an account of all that had occurred, and desiring him to come back to help him.

CHAPTER XLI.

How the Hidalcão, on learning that his Captain had made an entry into the Island of Goa and taken Benastarim without permission, ordered Roçalcão to take it from him, and what passed thereupon.

Directly that Manuel de Lacerda received news from Diogo Mendez of the trouble in which he was involved, he left off guarding the coast of Calicut, and came on with all his fleet and people to relieve Goa, and there he found all the city in great alarm at the news that was going about of the approach of Roçalcão, principal Captain of the Hidalcão; with a numerous force of men, and much artillery. And in order that they should not be taken unprepared, and at a disadvantage, they hurried on with great rapidity the

[1] See p. 43. [2] See p. 53.
[3] See ch. ix, at end.

fortification of the city, and removal of the stockades, and collection of provisions, before winter should come on, and at this juncture there arrived Diogo Fernandez de Béja with his fleet and forces, whom Afonso Dalboquerque, just before he sailed to Malaca, had sent off to Ormuz, and this greatly inspirited our men.

The Hidalcão, when he heard how Pulatecão had entered into the Island of Goa, and was in possession of Benastarim, fearing what he might do next, because he was a restless character, who, after the loss of Goa, had risen up in rebellion against him, and would not obey him, as he always used to do in respect of the revenue of the land, sent one of his principal Captains, in whom he had great confidence, who was called Roçalcão, with a large force of men and guns against Goa, with orders to do his best to eject him.

Pulatecão was not pleased at the arrival of Roçalcão, but considered himself deeply injured by the Hidalcão sending another Captain upon that business, when he himself had gained the entry into the island; and what provoked him more than all was that it was Roçalcão, with whom he was not on very friendly terms, and on this account he would not obey his orders. Now, as Roçalcão was a discreet man, and perceived that this matter could not be managed by forcible means, he made up his mind to make use of our people to gain his purpose, and with a most profound dissimulation availed himself of the following artifice.

There came in his retinue João Machado[1] with fifteen Portuguese who had been taken prisoners with Fernão Jacome, when his ship went ashore wherein he had set out from Çacotorá, as has been already narrated, and among the company of these captives came one Duarte Tavares, esquire of the Count of Abrantes, whom the Turks took prisoner in the Island of Choram,[2] and because this Duarte

[1] See vol. II, ch. XXXIX.

[2] See vol. II, Introduction, p. CV.

Tavares was a man of credit with them, Roçalcão sent him with a communication to Diogo Mendez, Captain of the Island of Goa, to declare to him that the Hidalcão, his lord, greatly desired to have peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and was very much annoyed at what Pulatecão had done, and had therefore sent him thither with a force to get him into his hands; but, on arrival at Benastarim, he had found him out of his reach, and in the attitude of one who had risen up in rebellion; therefore Roçalcão desired him graciously to assist in casting him out, for the Hidalcão did not wish to make war upon the Portuguese, but desired peace and friendship.

Diogo Mendez, not bearing in mind that the King of Portugal would be better served if he assisted Pulatecão, who was a man with an adventurous spirit, a Turk by birth, who had risen up in rebellion against the Hidalcão (for, had he been assisted by our party, he might have been persuaded to undertake some proceedings against him), and trusting also in the words of Duarte Tavares, who came quite deceived of the true state of affairs by the artifices of Roçalcão, agreed with all the *Fidalgoes* and cavaliers to help him, and immediately made ready the boats and galleys, and ordered Diogo Fernandez de Béja to proceed with two hundred men up the river to assist the operations made by Roçalcão; and thus by means of our assistance by water, while Roçalcão himself manœuvred on the land, they fell upon Pulatecão, and routed him; and when Pulatecão saw that he had lost the day, he fled to the mainland of Goa, where he died of poison.

As soon as Roçalcão had got possession of Benastarim, and fortified it, and provided it with a large force of men, and artillery, and munitions of war, after the lapse of a few days, he sent a message to Diogo Mendez, begging him greatly of his kindness to admit him into the city, for it was the chief city of the kingdom of the Hidalcão, his lord,

which could not be established in any other locality. At the receipt of this message Diogo Mendez became very downcast, and discovered the error into which he had fallen, and those who had given their assent to his policy were discomfited, and from that time forward Roçalcão began to make war upon him, and kept the city closely besieged during the whole of that winter, so that our people underwent many hardships, hunger, and misfortunes—far too many for me to relate them here—up to the time when the great Afonso Dalboquerque returned from Malaca, which was just at the very height of these troubles, when already there was a good space of the wall of the fortress thrown down to the ground, which had fallen during the severe wintry weather.

When João Machado saw that some of the Portuguese went over to Roçalcão, out of despair of the city being able to hold out any longer, he left his wife and children, who were there with him, and came over to our side with ten or twelve Christians who desired to accompany him, and this incident greatly inspirited our men, because it was in so opportune a crisis. This João Machado had married a Moorish woman, who became a Christian, and by her he had three or four children, whom he himself baptised secretly.

CHAPTER XLII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, having set sail from Malaca, steered for the channel by which he had entered when he came from India: and how he was wrecked on some shallows off the Coast of Çamatra, and miraculously saved, and the rest that took place.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, having set out from Malaca, steered so as to reach the channel by which he had entered when he came from India, and when he had passed

over the shoals of Capacia he ordered the captains of the ship *Enxobregas* and the junk to keep close together, because they sailed well in company, lest the Javanese, who were on board the junk, should plan any treason against them, while he himself and Pero Dalpoem sailed as convoy to each other; and thus proceeding with their voyage, when they had gone as far forward as the Powder Island,[1] the Pilots of Afonso Dalboquerque's ship not being on their guard concerning certain shallows which were situated off that part of the coast of Çamatra, just opposite to the kingdom of Darú,[2] ran the ship *Flor-de-la-Mar* ashore upon them in the night, and the vessel, being by this time very old, broke up into two parts directly she struck.[3]

Pero Dalpoem, who was on the outer hand, let go his

[1] See p. 62, *note* 2.

[2] Darú is marked neither by Berthelot in Pedro Barretto de Resendé's MS., to which I have already so frequently referred, nor by Keith Johnston in his *Royal Atlas*. The Portolano of Fernão Vaz Dourado, described in the Introduction of vol. ii, marks Darú on the western side of Sumatra.

[3] The parallel account of the shipwreck of Afonso Dalboquerque from Correa, p. 269, is very graphic:—"Assy vindo, lhe deu hum tempo trauessão tão forte que nom pôde al fazer senão sorgir, que foy com huma ancora grande e huma amarra de rótas, que são canas delgadas mociças, que trócem, e fazem d'ellas fortes amarras. E tambem sorgio Pero d'Alpoym, que era á sua vista, que os outros nom pareciāo, que correrāo áuante, porque erão mais metidos no mar; mas çarrando a noite, o tempo e o mar se tanto aleuantou que foy tromenta desfeita, em tal maneyra que conueo ao Governador cortar todos os mastos, porque a nao trabalhaua muyto com o mar por proa; e mandou que todo ficasse amarrado á nao, e de todo fizessem jangada, porque a nao se hia ao fundo com a bomba que nom podião vencer. Polo que toda a gente se meteo no trabalho da jangada fortemente, em que alguns morrerão, porque o mar era grande, vendo que nom tinhão outra saluação. E porque a jangada se desfazia na nao, então a mandou o Gouernador largar por popa, e homens que defendião 'os negros que se hião meter n'ella com trouxas, que seus senhores mandauão meter. O Gouernador mandou meter os doentes no batel por popa da jangada, e fallou a toda a gente que elle em ciroulas e jaqueta se auia de meter na jangada; que por tanto soubessem certo que d'outra maneyra ninguem n'ella nom auia d'entrar;

anchor immediately that he heard the cries of the crew and understood that the ship was lost, and remained where he was all the night long in a fierce gale at the mercy of the cable; and when morning broke the boats of the ships *Trindade* and *Flor-de-la-Mar* having been lost (being staved in on board the ships on account of the heavy seas breaking over the decks), Afonso Dalboquerque gave the order that a raft should be prepared with boards placed upon some timbers, and he got upon it, clad in a grey jacket, and lashed to the raft with a rope, lest the waves should sweep

pedindo a Deos misericordia das almas, porque das vidas ninguem fizesse conta.

"Então o Gouernador per huma corda atada pela cinta se deitou no esquife, e com elle os homens que couberão, e se foy a jangada em que se meteo, e o esquife tornou á nao tantas vezes até que nom fiqou nenhum homem portuguez; e o Gouernador nom consentio na jangada nenhum negro, nem negra, que todos deitou ao mar, e ficauão pegados á jangada. Estando n'este trabalho, a nao se quebrou polo conúes em dous pedaços, e se foy ao fundo; em que se perdeo a mór riqueza d'ouro e pidraria que nunqua se perdeo em nenhuma parte da India, nem nunqua perderá. E porque a madeira da nao vinha fazer mal na jangada, se aleuantarão, e 'agoa os foy leuando pera terra, onde tornarão a sorgir com huma ancora que leuaua o batel, e assy estiuerão com as almas nas boquas pedindo misericordia a Deos, até que amanheceo, que o vento e mar era menos.

"Quando amanheceo, que da nao de Pero d'Alpoym nom virão a nao do Gouernador, e virão a madeira polo mar, a derão por perdida, e a gente morta, ou que se fôra a terra. Polo que deu a vela, e hindo pera terra ouverão vista da jangada, porque aleuantarão panos nas pontas das lanças que meterão na jangada pera defensão dos negros; em que a nao foy sorgir perto da jangada, que todos bradauão; 'Senhor Deos, misericordia!' As que logo Pero d'Alpoym mandou o batel, em que se meteo o Gouernador com a gente que pôde, e tambem o batel, com a gente que descarregou na nao se tornou á jangada áte que a descarregou; e todavia ouve homens que saluarão muyto ouro derrador de sy. Dom João de Lima pôs a sua nao ao pairo, e abrio tanta agoa que correo ao som do mar, e pôde fazer caminho porque era muyto afastado da terra, que nada soube da perdição da nao do Gouernador, e como o tempo abonançou, andou com pouqa uela aguardando polo Gouernador, que bem sabia que ficaua atrás; e assy andando, d'ahy a dez dias o Gouernador foy ter com elle, e seguirão seu caminho pera Cochym, onde chegarão com grande trabalho de bomba, meos perdidos, já em janeiro de 1512."

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him off, and two mariners with him, who with oars improvised out of some pieces of boards rowed the raft: and so in this plight, and by these means, and also by help of ropes which by Pero Dalpoem's orders were thrown out, tied to buckets, with infinite difficulty he reached the ship *Trindade*.

The men who were left in the wreck of the *Flor-de-la-Mar*, seeing themselves already come to the last day of their lives, began with loud cries and complaints to shout after Afonso Dalboquerque, who was making way on the raft, and he, touched with profound pity at the sight of them in this sad state of misery, told them not to be alarmed, but to put all their trust in our Lord, for he would promise them that he would not desert them, even if he ventured to lose his own life and the other ship and all her company in saving them; and he desired them, in the meantime, to construct another raft, for he would come back without delay for them.

While the shipwrecked men were making their raft, the junk, which was commanded by Simão Martinz, came up on her land-tack, very close to the spot where the remains of the *Flor-de-la-Mar* were with our men clustering upon them, and those on board the junk clearly perceived the plight in which they were, and then she tacked again and stood out to sea, and they never saw her again. The reason of this was, that the Javanese, who were on board this junk, on account of the careless conduct of Jorge Nunez de Lião (although Afonso Dalboquerque had especially cautioned him in this respect, and also because of the severe illness of Simão Martinz), rose up in mutiny, and killed all the Portuguese on board, without any escaping, except four mariners who took advantage of the confusion of the outbreak and got into an *almadia*, and made their way to Pacé, where the Governor, who had risen up in rebellion and taken possession of the kingdom, received them with hospitality and shewed

them great honour, and sent them forward on the way to India in a ship which had put in there coming from Malaca bound for Choramandel; and just as they were about to set out, the junk's barge came in crowded with Javanese, and they declared that the junk was lost.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had reached the ship *Trindade*, after a great deal of difficulty—our Lord having been pleased to save him miraculously, because, by all human reason, on account of the sea running so high, it was impossible for him to have been saved,—he remembered the promise which he had given to those who were left behind on the wreck, and lost no time in commanding Pero Dalpoem to set sail so as to get up to them and take them on board. But the crew of the ship *Trindade*, thinking more of themselves than of the danger and trouble in which their companions were, made many objections and requests that he would not order the ship close in to the shore, for it was shelving rock, and the wind was very high, and they also would be wrecked.

Afonso Dalboquerque, considering that he could not with any sense of duty fail to save those persons who had accompanied him in his labours, would not listen to these murmurings, but rather reprehended the crew for the little remembrance which they had of the frequent occasions when they had been protected by these very shipwrecked companions in the reverses which they had experienced in the Malaca enterprise, and determined, at all hazards, to save them; and creeping in shore under sail to reach the raft which the wrecked crew had put together out of the mast and the yard, with all the company of the ship upon it, he saw that it was not riding to its cable (some of the mariners declared afterwards that the cable had been cut but they did not know who it was that did it); and because both wind and sea were contrary for the raft to get towards the ship, but drove her towards the shore, without those who were on her being able

to make any use of the pieces of oars with which they tried to row, in order to accomplish that which he had promised them he would do, although he had no longer any hopes of being able to save them, he ordered the crew to set all the sail they possibly could in order to catch up the junk before she struck on the coast, and to get ready two anchors so as to cast them if need should arise; and he ordered the pilots to keep on sounding the bottom with their lead in their hands, and, as the turn of the tide was just beginning, and the sea filling, in a very short space of time they reached the raft, and cast the anchors immediately in three and a half fathoms, which was the depth which the ship required with proper precautions; and with ropes tied to buckets and empty barrels which they let out of the ship, they took the junk with great trouble, and when they had drawn the people up on board, they remained where they were all that night with a great gale blowing behind them, trusting in the Lord's mercy, which did not fail them; for, just before dawn of day, there sprung up a little land breeze which enabled them to draw off and proceed with their voyage.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of what was lost in the ship *Flor-de-la-Mar:* and how the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, after having collected his people together on the ship *Trindade*, proceeded on his route to Ceilão: and of what took place on the voyage until they arrived at Cochim.

In this ship, *Flor-de-la-Mar*, and in the junk which mutinied against us, there were lost the richest spoils that ever were seen since India had been discovered until that moment; and besides this, many women who were greatly skilled workers in embroidery, and many young girls and youths of noble family from all those countries which extend

from the Cape of Comorim to the eastward,[1] whom Afonso Dalboquerque was carrying to the Queen D. Maria. They lost the castles of woodwork, ornamented with brocades, which the King of Malaca used to carry upon his elephants, and very rich palanquins[2] for his personal use, all plated with gold, a marvellous thing to behold, and great store of jewellery of good and precious stones which he was carrying with him in order to send it as a present to the King D. Manuel. And they lost a table with its feet all overlaid with plates of gold, which Milrrhao presented to Afonso Dalboquerque for the king, when the lands of Goa were delivered up to him. For when he arrived at Cochim, with the intention of leaving this table with the Factor, who could forward it to Portugal, so great was the hurry to embark, in order to save the monsoon which was getting well forward in its season, that it was forgotten, and then he took it with him. And all our men also lost a great quantity of their own things. And this so extensively, that of all that was on board, both in the ship and the junk, nothing was saved except the sword and crown of gold, and the ruby ring which the king of Sião sent to the King D. Manuel; but that which Afonso Dalboquerque grieved for most of all in this loss was the bracelet[3] which had been found upon Naodabegea, for he brought it with great estimation in order to send it to the king, because the efficacy of it was so very admirable. So also he felt very much the loss of the lions, which he brought because they were found on certain ancient sepulchres of the kings of Malaca, and he took them with the intention of placing them on his own tomb in Goa as a memorial of the achievement of taking Malaca; and, of all the spoils which were then taken, he reserved only these two things (the

[1] Cf. Chapter xxxix, áquem do Ganges, a que os Portugueses chamão *do Cabo do Comorim pera dentro.*

[2] *Andores.*

[3] See p. 62.

bracelet and lions) for himself, for as they were of iron they were [not] of great value.[1]

In this return journey of crossing over the Indian Ocean to Ceilão they would have perished for want of water and supplies if Our Lord had not succoured them by means of two large Moorish ships which they overtook on the voyage, bound from Çamatra and laden with pepper and silk, sandal wood and wood aloes.[2] For as soon as Afonso Dalboquerque

[1] *Que por serem de ferro eram muito pera estimar;* I am inclined to consider that *não* has dropped out before *eram* in this passage, in both editions.

[2] *Lenholoes; i.e., lignum aloes.* Cf. the note on *lenhonoe*, page 159. As very little appears to be now known of the *wood-aloes*, or *Calamba*, the following note will be read with interest:—"Calamba, Calambâ, ou Calambuco; na 1 Decada, f. 17, col. 3, João de Barros lhe chama *Lenholoè*, aonde diz, 'passado este Reyno Camboja, entra outro Reyno Chamado Campâ, nas montanhas do qual nace o verdadeiro *Lenholoè*, a que os Mouros daquellas partes chamão *Calambuc*'. Com J. de Barros se conforme A Academia Francesa no *Diccion. das Artes*, p. 90, donde diz que os boticarios chamão ao Calambà *Lignum Aloes.* Segundo as noticias que me derão Antonio de Mello e Castro, Viso Rey que foy da India, e Manuel Godinho de Sá, Capitão da Nao *Milagres*, que assistio em Macáo 32 annos, *Calambâ* na lingoa da terra, que o produz, val o mesmo que *doença da arvore.* A rezâo desta nome he, que na Cochinchina, e nos Reynos de Champâ, e Camboja, ha grandes devezas de arvores, muy espesas e enmaranhadas, e metendose entre ellas alguns Gentios practicos, encontrão huma certa casta de arvores, e às vezes vem alguma dellas, que se vay murchando, e dizem logo comsigo, 'esta arvore parece que tem doença'; poem na devesa suas balizas, e vindo da hi a alguns dias por ellas, achão a tal arvore murcha toda, e cortando-a bem rente do chão, achão no amago da cortadura do tronco, hum como nó, mais preto, que, à maneira de cancro, chupou, e chamou a si o succo e oleo da tal arvore, que unido e junto nelle, tem o suave e precioso cheiro, que experimentamos, e quanto mais vigor havia na arvore, mais oleoso e precioso he o Calambuco; e se a arvore tinha pouco alento, não ha nella o Calambuco prezado, senão secco, e sem oleo, e val muy pouco......o ditto Capitão Manoel Godinho provava o Calambâ desta maneira. Tirava com huma faquinha huma migalhinha deste pao, e a metia na boca, e andava com ella entre os dentes, e se ella se-lhe-ajuntava, e amassava entre os dentes como cera, tinha-a por boa; e esse dia andava ordinariamente com dores de cabeça, porque he cousa muito quente, e de cheiro muito penetrante; e desta especie tem muito pouca a Europa,

caught sight of them he gave orders to chase them, and took them, and out of their stores he furnished himself with provisions and water, which enabled him to make his way to Ceilão. And because the Moors declared that the ships came from Chaul and from Dabul, he ordered Simão Dandrade with a prize party, and Dinis Fernandez to remain on board of them until he could learn the truth of it.

The Moors who formed the crew of the ship of Chaul, to which Simão Dandrade was appointed, found out that he did not know his latitude, nor yet the course they were sailing on, so they steered their course for the Maldive Islands,[1] and succeeded in reaching Candaluz[2] (which is the

porque tem grande preço em Japão, donde dizem, que val mais de outenta mil reis o arratel. Com este precioso aroma perfumão os Japoens as cazas e os vestidos. Usam delle os Chins nos accidentes de Paralysia, e na falta dos espiritos vitaes. Feito em pó, e tomado em vinho, ou em caldo, corrobora o estomago, veda os vomitos, e sara as dysenterias. Dizem que a arvore, que o produz, he algum tanto mayor que oliveira, com que tambem se parece. As vezes se achão humas pequenas porçoens deste pao nas margens do Ganges, por isso lhe-chamão alguns *Lignum Paradisi.*

"Escrevem algums modernos que tambem se acha Calambâ, ou Calambuco, nas Ilhas Maldivas......os Padres Missionarios da Companhia no seu livro *Summarias noticias da Cochinchina* mostrão que ha sómente nas terras del Rey da Cochinchina, o qual como faz todos os gastos no descobrimento, tem todo o proveito da conquista. Usam muito os Japoens delle para perfumes," etc.—*Bluteau.*

[1] Navigators in general are not aware, more particularly those coming from Europe, that the whole group of the Maldiva Islands are inhabited by a civilised race of people, who carry on a considerable trade with India, more particularly Bengal, Ceylon, and the Malabar coast, as also to the Red Sea, and are expert sailors. They are an inoffensive, timid people, and there appears far less crime among them than with more polished nations; murder is not known among them, nor is theft or drunkenness; being strict Mussulmans, they are forbidden the use of spirituous liquors, which could be easily made from the fermented juice of the coco-nut

[2] *Candaluz;* this island is marked (as *Camdalus*) in the map from the Portolano of Fernão Vaz Dourado, a facsimile of which is given in vol. ii, facing chapter I.

principal island in this group), and there all the Moors fled away from him; and from some Moors of Cananor whom Simão Dandrade found in that place, he learned that Mafamede Maçari,[1] a merchant of Cairo was there, and he was one who always maintained the policy of the Rumes with the Çamorim, and tried hard to bring them over to India; but when Afonso Dalboquerque was in Malaca, out of fear

tree, which they have in abundance. The men, in appearance, are of a dark copper-colour, rather short, and in person not unlike the natives of Ceylon and the Malabar coast, but their language is totally different; their women are not pretty, and are extremely alarmed at the sight of strangers. The group consists of a range of innumerable low islands and rocks, extending nearly on a meridian line (as shewn in the map referred to above) from latitude 7 deg. 6½ min. N. to latitude 0 deg. 42 min. S.; the larger islands abound with coco-nut trees, and are generally inhabited, but many of the others are only sandbanks or barren rocks. The greatest breadth of the range is about twenty leagues, and the islands are formed in large groups or clusters, sometimes double, which are called by the natives *Atolls* or *Atollons*. These Atolls appear to be the summits of submarine coral mountains, rising very abruptly to the surface of the sea, and having an almost unfathomable depth of water outside of them, but enclosing within the crater-like ridges which bound them, banks of soundings of various depths, from ten to thirty or forty fathoms. The islands of each Atoll generally lie in a continued chain on the barrier ridge which bounds it, although there are many on the interior banks, which, in addition to the islands, are generally studded with rocky patches and banks. There are nineteen Atolls, with several detached islands or rocks in the channels that separate them. Although these islands have long been thought to present an impenetrable barrier of four hundred and seventy meridional miles to ships bound to Ceylon, or the southern parts of India, and have consequently been dreaded and avoided by modern navigators, yet the early traders from Europe to India appear to have been much better acquainted with them than we until lately were, and, like Afonso Dalboquerque on his return voyage from Malaca to Cochim, often passed through some of the wider and safer channels which separate the Atolls, without apprehension of danger. Horsburgh, from whose work the above notes are derived, does not mention any island with a name at all resembling Candaluz, except Karndoo-doo, the northern island on the western side of the Collomandoo Atoll; whereas the position of Candaluz in Fernão Vaz Dourado's chart seems to point to the island now called Cardiva in the Cardiva Channel of this group.

[1] See p. 33.

which he had, lest, if we gained the victory, the Çamorim would deliver him up to Afonso Dalboquerque (for this had long been a subject of secret negotiations, but the Çamorim had always temporised with it and screened him with lies), and dreading lest some day the Çamorim should tell the truth about him, he set out from Calicut with three ships laden with spiceries, and, having his wife and children and all his property on board; and, when he had progressed on his voyage as far as Çacotora, sailing close in shore between the cape of Guardafum[1] and Magadaxo,[2] he encountered so fierce a storm that he was driven ashore, and in that tempest lost two of his ships, and he himself in the one he sailed in with his wife and children ran to the Maldive Islands and managed to get to Candaluz, and there he capsized his ship, but saved some of his spiceries and bought a *candura,* which is a kind of small vessel with which they navigate those islands.

And when the proper season of the year came on, he sailed away with the remainder of his spiceries that he had managed to save, taking Simão Rangel, whom he had bought, and made his way to Calayate,[3] where the *candura* was lost, and from that port he sailed away in a ship bound for Ormuz, and got to Aden.

In this storm many ships were lost which had set out for the Straits [of the Red Sea] while Afonso Dalboquerque was at Malaca; and, on account of this great destruction which the Moors of Calicut suffered in their ships because they were large ships, and every one that was lost caused them to suffer heavily—for they dared not venture to sea except in the winter for fear of our fleets,—from that time forward they built small vessels, and, rowing them about, navigated all the Straits of the Red Sea.

When Afonso Dalboquerque, after his arrival at Cochim,

[1] See map, vol. i, p. 80.
[2] See chapter VII, and vol. i, p. 45.
[3] See vol. i, p. 62.

learned that Mafamede Maçari had visited the islands, he felt his unfortunate shipwreck much more, for he had come with the determination of sweeping through them with his squadron and keeping on the course used by the Moors in their navigation of these islands; and so it might have turned out that he would have fallen into the hands of the Portuguese with all his property, and this was what Afonso Dalboquerque was very desirous of happening.

Simão Rangel was a very honourable man, a servant of the King D. Manuel, and Afonso Dalboquerque had made use of his assistance in many matters because he was a man who knew how to perform everything very well; and when he was at Cochim—Afonso Dalboquerque being at Malaca—he and some of the others began to disagree about some proceedings done by Lourenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira to the disservice of the king, so they sent him in a *catur* to Goa, and on the voyage the *paraos* of Calicut took him captive. And this Mafamede Maçari bought him and took him with him, whereat Afonso Dalboquerque was very much annoyed and desired to punish Lourenço Moreno, who was the Factor; but, as all were to blame, he left the matter alone, and wrote to the King Dom Manuel of all that they had done while he was in Malaca, and of the carelessness they had been guility of in failing to victual Goa when it was besieged.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque reached Cochim; and of the news which they gave him concerning Goa, and of the coming of the Rumes, and of the fleet which arrived from Portugal.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque reached Cochim, inasmuch as up to that moment there was no news of him nor of the events which had taken place at Malaca, there

was a great excitement and all were filled with pleasure, for at his arrival the Moors of India abated in some degree the excitement they had fallen into at the news of the coming of the Rumes. And Lourenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira became very much ashamed of themselves for having written to the King D. Manuel, and set on foot throughout India a rumour that Afonso Dalboquerque was lost, and all his fleet with him; although this great captain was so much dreaded by the Moors, and such authority was attached to his person among them, that by means of his presence only, frustrated as he was, wrecked, and clad in the same grey jacket which he was saved in at the wreck, the mere knowledge that he had returned to India, made all the kings of that land disband and withdraw from that conspiracy which they had set on foot against the Portuguese.

And Afonso Dalboquerque disembarked on the very day of his arrival, and from the dock where the captain stood with all his company ready to receive him, they took him up under a brocaded canopy to the church, the vicar of it standing at the door with the reliques awaiting his coming; and, after prayer made, and many thanks given to our Lord for having delivered him from the perils which he had passed through, he went to the fortress accompanied by every one, and after giving them a great reception he took his leave of them at the gate, and remained behind alone with the captain and the king's officers. And after having given them an account of the doings at Malaca, and of what had taken place during his voyage, he asked them concerning the king's property and the ships which had sailed away laden with Oriental produce to Portugal that year. For, although military affairs occupied much of his thoughts, yet he never wanted time to look after the property of the king. And when he inquired after the state of affairs at Goa—for this was the matter which occupied the chief position in his thoughts even while he was at Malaca—they related to him

how during all that winter the city had been besieged by three captains of the Hidalcão with a large army, and they showed him all the hardships which the siege had brought upon our people, both by war and by famine, and that they were quite undone from the fact that a considerable length of their wall had fallen from the severity of the winter; they told him, too, that the Captain and Manuel da Cunha were dead.

Afonso Dalboquerque felt these deaths very keenly; that of Rodrigo Rabelo because he was a brave cavalier, and that of Manuel da Cunha because he was not on very good terms of intercourse with his father Tristão da Cunha on account of the disagreements which arose between them respecting his journey when they went to India; and whereas there was nothing which he felt so earnestly as the safety of Goa, he sent off a *catur* without delay, carrying a message to Diogo Mendez, with an account of his coming; and he wrote to the judges and aldermen[1] of the pleasure it would give him to revisit them, and that he was getting himself in readiness to be with them immediately, and that he relied upon God's mercy to give him a good revenge upon the Turks of Benastarim, and he sent them a warrant for Manuel de Lacerda to be captain of the city, and Duarte de Melo chief captain of the sea until his own arrival.

As soon as the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque was known in Goa, there was general rejoicing throughout the city, and a great ringing of bells and firing of salutes, for every one looked upon himself as redeemed from death. When the *catur* had sailed off, there arrived a message from Diogo Correa, Captain of Cananor, to report that the merchants brought news that a great fleet of Rumes had set sail from Suez, coming to help the Hidalcão against Goa, and this had been prepared as soon as it became known that Afonso Dalboquerque had sailed away to Malaca. When he heard

[1] *Vereadores.*

this, Afonso Dalboquerque became very unhappy, because he had a very small fleet which would serve for going in search of them, as he had originally intended;[1] and while affairs were in this condition, and he himself undecided which undertaking he should enter upon first (viz., the relief of Goa or attack on the Rumes), on the 20th day of August, in the year [fifteen hundred and] twelve, D. Garcia de Noronha, who had set out in the preceding year with six ships, and wintered at Mozambique, arrived;[2] and Jorge de Melo

[1] See p. 55.

[2] This expedition and its results are thus briefly tabulated in the "Armada da India", Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 20902, f. 14:—

"Dom Gracia de Noronha Cappitam môr.
"Anno de 1511.
"6 naôs a 25 de Março, e a 8 de Abril.

"Dom Gracia de Noronha Capitão mor de seis naos, partio a vinte çinco de Março: Capitães Dom Ayres da Gama, Pero Mascarenhas, Christouão de Brito, Jorge de Brito, Manoel de Castro Alcoforado: Foy Capitão mor de mar Dom Gracia de Noronha, e destas seis Naos sò tres passarão a India, E a Nao de Jorge de Brito descobrio o penedo de São Pedro.

"Neste anno tomou Affonso de Albuquerque Malaca, e em Agosto fez a fortaleza, de que foy o primeiro Capitão Ruy de Brito Patalim, a que pos nome "Nossa Senhora da Assumpção."

"Pedro Mascarenhas foy na nâo *Santa Eufemia*, Jorge de Brito em *Santa Maria da Luz*, Manoel de Castro Alcoforado em *S. Pedro*, Christovam de Brito em *Santa Maria de Belem*, D. Ayres da Gama em *Santa Maria da Piedade*.

"Destas seis naôs sò tres passaram â India, a saber as duas de Christovam de Brito, e D. Aires da Gama, que partirão deste Reino doze dias depois do Cappitam môr, e Pedro Mascarenhas, que o mesmo Cappitam môr mandou de Moçambique (aonde chegou com muito trabalho) â India para tirar de confuzam aos que nella estavão com sua chegada.

"Successo.—Seguindo Dom Gracia sua viagem, e nam podendo dobrar o Cabo de Sto. Agostinho, quiz o seu Piloto fazerse na volta de Guiné para tomar outra mais larga sobre o mesmo Cabo, na qual travessa se ouvera de perder em hum penedo, que acharam no meyo daquelle Golfão, no qual de noute foy dar a nâo *S. Pedro*, Cappitam Jorge de Brito, que fez farol âs outras, que vinham na sua esteira, por razam do qual perigo, e do nome da naô, que deu no penedo, elle ouve o que hoje tem de S. Pedro."

Pereira, who had set sail that year from the kingdom of Portugal, as chief Captain of eight ships,[1] with a large body of men on board, whom the King D. Manuel sent in consequence of his belief that Afonso Dalboquerque was lost,

[1] The expedition here referred to, is thus tabulated in the "Armada da India", Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 20902, f. 15:—

"Jorge de Mello Pereira Capitam môr de outo naos, e Gracia de Sousa Capitam môr de quatro naos, que fazem as 12 em duas Capitanias.

"Anno de 1512.

"12 velas a 25 de Março partiu a mayor parte dellas.

"Jorge de Mello Pereira Capitão moor de oito naos, e Capitão môr Gracia de Sousa das outras quatro: partio a Vinte e çinco de março: Capitães Jorge de Albuquerque, Gonçalo Pereira, Loppo Vãz de Sampayo, Gaspar Pereira, Dom João d'Eça, Jorge da Silueira, Simão de Mirãda, Francisco Nogueira, Antonio Raposo de Beja, Pero de Albuquerque; A Nao de Francisco Nogueira se perdeo nos baixos de Angoya, E saluouse a gente.

"Jorge de Albuquerque filho do João de Albuquerque na Nao *Nazarê* = Gonçalo Pereira filho de Gonçalo Pereira na *Conceição* = Jorge da Silveira no *Botafogo* = Simam de Miranda nas *Virtudes* = D. João d'Eça, ou de Sâ (como diz outra Relação) na *Magdalena* = Francisco Nogueira em *S. Antonio* perdido = Loppo Vaz de Sampayo em *Santa Cruz* = Pero de Albuquerque filho de Jorge de Albuquerque na *Bastiana* = Antonio Raposo de Beja em......, Gaspar Pereira que era para servir de secretario de Affonso de Albuquerque, como o tinha sido de Dom Francisco de Almeida, na naô *Santo Antonio o Grande*.

"Neste anno se fez a fortaleza de Calicut a que se pos nome *N. Senhora da Conceição*, de que foy primeiro Capitão Francisco Nogueira.

"Successos.—A naô *Santo Antonio*, Capitam Francisco Nogueira, se perdeu nos baixos de Angoxa, onde morreo quasi toda a gente, e elle por nam saber nadar se deixou ficar com dous filhos seus sobre o que apparecia da naô, e na baxamar esprayou tanto que a pê enxuto se recolheu a huma das Islas de Angoxa, onde os Mouros o tomarão, e depois derão pelo seu Xeque, que Antonio de Saldanha cativou, quando foy vingar as mortes que os Mouros daquellas Ilhas tinham dado a alguns dos nossos, que a ellas forão buscar mantimentos.

"No Mesmo anno de 1512

"1 Navio a 13 de Julho.

"A 13 de Julho partio hum Cavaleiro por nome João Chanoca em hum navio a buscar a carga da Naô *Galega*, que, por nam estar para navegar, descarregou em Moçambique."

and the invasion of the Rumes certain to take place, in accordance with that which Lourenço Moreno and Antonio Real had written to him from India.

And at the arrival of these two fleets Afonso Dalboquerque became very greatly pleased, and returned many thanks to our Lord that this had fallen out at that very time, and much more was he pleased at the arrival of his nephew D. Garcia, as well on account of the good qualities of his person, as also because he would help him in the Indian troubles which grew heavier every day, and the King D. Manuel wrote that he ordered him to be Chief Captain of that fleet, and if there should arise any necessity of his presence to assist Afonso Dalboquerque, then he was to remain in India as Chief Captain of the Sea; and because Lorenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira, had written to the King D. Manuel, showing how Goa was besieged, and declaring the little need there was of the position, severely censuring Afonso Dalboquerque's wishes to maintain that city, for they thought that thus they would be revenged upon him for his reprehensions of their vices, and the malpractices of which they had been guilty in their offices, against the service of the King; therefore, in view of this information the King wrote to Afonso Dalboquerque that it would please him very much that he should discuss this question [of retaining possession of Goa] with his captains and officers; and if it should be universally admitted advisable to withdraw from Goa, then he was to destroy it, yet he never would be blind to the fact that Afonso Dalboquerque had on two occasions gained it from the Moors with so great a labour and personal risk, for by so doing he had done him great service.

Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving that all this was prompted by Duarte de Lemos and Gonçalo de Sequeira, who, being ashamed at not having been with him at the taking of that city, seized this opportunity of screening

themselves, put off for a time this business, without mentioning it to any one, and when the attack upon Benastarim was accomplished he did what the King ordered him to do, as will be related hereafter.

CHAPTER XLV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from Cochim with the intention of going in search of the Rumes; and how he proceeded to besiege the fortress of Benastarim.

At the receipt of this intelligence of the coming of the fleet of the Rumes, the great Afonso Dalboquerque hastened on his departure more rapidly; and, although his fleet was not so great as to be able to resist the power which it was reported the Rumes were bringing, because the principal ships that were in India—and of which he could avail himself—were found to be in a very decayed condition when he arrived from his voyage to Malaca, on account of the carelessness which the King's officers, who were stationed at Cochim, had shewn in looking after them; nevertheless, buoyed up by the hope which he had of Our Lord's assistance, he set out for Goa on the tenth of September, in the year [fifteen hundred and] twelve, with a fleet of sixteen sail, and four which he was to take up at Goa, with the intention of going in search of the Rumes; but when he reached Cananor, somewhat late on account of the adverse state of the wind, he found the report of the coming of the Rumes looked upon as somewhat uncertain, and hereupon he sent two of the ships from among those which had come from Portugal and accompanied him thither, to return to Cochim and take in their cargo; and then he set sail from Cananor, and sailed over the bar of Goa, with determination of putting his hands upon the Captains of the Hidalcão who were in Benastarim; and by means of some

Moors whom he captured in a ship which came from Adem, he was informed that no fleet of the Rumes would come to India during that year, for it was reported that they intended first of all to take Adem and so secure the countries along the Straits [of the Red Sea], in order that our fleet might not be able to navigate there.

Having therefore cast anchor on the bar, Afonso Dalboquerque declared to the Captains that he had made up his mind to go up against Benastarim before the Hidalcão could know of his arrival, while they went to the city with all their fleet, for he desired to make for Old Goa, in order to forestall the pass over the sea before the Hidalcão could besiege it by land; and although the peril was considerable, he was determined to force a way through the artillery of the Turks, and isolate them in such a manner that no succour could possibly reach them, for the river had sufficient depth of water in it for the ships to draw up quite close to the fortress, and even to ram the bulwarks.

As soon as this had been arranged, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders for the disembarkation of all the men-at-arms who were on board the vessels, for they were to accompany him, and in their place he shipped a hundred mariners and bombardiers picked out of the whole fleet, and furnished them with the best artillery he had, and plenty of powder and shot, and appointed to the captainship over them Tristão de Miranda, of the ship *S. Pedro;* Pero de Afonseca, of the *Sancta Maria da Ajuda, i.e., Saint Mary of the Aid;* Vicente Dalboquerque, of the small *Ajuda;* Antonio Raposo, of the ship *Ferros,*[1] *i.e., Irons;* Garcia de Sousa, of a Malabar ship;[2] and Aires da Silva, of the ship *Rosairo, i.e., Rosary,* whom he made chief captain of all these ships, and Afonso Dalboquerque himself went in a *catur.* When all was in

[1] This was one of the ships brought by Jorge de Mello in the 1512 fleet from Portugal.

[2] Garcia de Sousa had commanded the *São Gião* in the above fleet.

readiness, he commanded D. Garcia [de Noronha] to make his way with the rest of the whole fleet to Goa, and get ready against his arrival all the things that were necessary to proceed by land to Benastarim, and not to allow any one of the inhabitants of the city to go forth without his special permission; and then he himself set sail and made good his entrance into Old Goa; and as soon as he reached in front of the fortress of Benastarim he sent word to Tristão de Miranda to stand in with his ship *S. Pedro* until he was at the distance of a gun-shot from the fortress, while he himself with the other captains of these ships would follow him up, and there they all remained until the artillery of the Turks somewhat abated from the fury with which they had begun their fire.

When our men had lost their fear and alarm at the continued firing of the enemy, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded the Captains to draw yet a little nearer with their ships, and Garcia de Sousa to lay his ship athwart between the fleet and the fortress, for it was a very large vessel, and would serve in that position as a shelter for the other vessels. But the Turks, who were not altogether pleased at the proximity of our ships to them, fired so many shots at them, and so furiously, that they swept clean across the decks. And as our men were just in the line of fire of a *basilisk*,[1] which the Turks had mounted upon a rampart flush with the water-line, Afonso Dalboquerque made ready a barge with a gunmetal *camel*,[2] and ordered his Constable to take six bombardiers and go by night and anchor it close to the Turkish bulwarks in front of their guns, and try their best to silence the basilisk.

The Constable was so brave a soldier that, without the least fear of the danger he ran, carried out the orders which Afonso Dalboquerque had given him, and when morning

[1] *Bazalisco;* an ancient kind of cannon, of large calibre, and very long, carrying a ball of a hundred and sixty pounds weight.

[2] *Camelo;* see vol. i, p. 73.

broke he began to fire the camel with round shot, and it was Our Lord's will that one of the shots struck the basilisk on the mouth and broke it, and killed two of the renegade bombardiers, one of whom was a Gallician, the other a Castilian, who had fled away at the first entry of the Portuguese into Goa and gone over to the Moors.

Aires da Silva, who found himself in the line of the basilisk, ordered his ship to be hauled more forward, but the mariners managed these operations so badly that they ran the ship athwart the enemy's guns. And the Turks, perceiving the embarrassed state of our men, fired at them with so many guns broadside that they almost dashed them to pieces; and it happened that one of the shots went through the ship's prow, and striking three barrels of powder that were in that place they blew up, and part of the hatchways, the castles, and the deck were destroyed, and two planks close upon the water-line were blown off, although no other casualty occurred among the crew beyond the burning of three cabin boys, but the crew were so alarmed that they all jumped overboard, and Aires da Silva was left alone in the ship. When the Turks beheld the misfortune of our men they raised a great shout and blew their trumpets.

But Afonso Dalboquerque, when he saw Aires da Silva in this predicament, got into a skiff with four men, and under the fire of the Turks he got up to the ship and called out to the crew who were swimming away to return to him, reproaching them with leaving him thus unprotected, and using towards them words of reprehension for deserting their captain in so shameful a manner. And when the mariners saw him in his skiff passing along under fire in front of so many guns, they grew ashamed of what they had done, and took courage and turned back again to the ship; while he, although the guns of the enemy did not cease to fire, called out to his mate, who was coming on in a boat, to go and haul at the poop of the ship so as to draw her off

from the guns' mouths; and as soon as the ship had thus been hauled off, he ordered a number of caulkers, with hides and all other necessaries, to go to the ship and cover over the holes made by the explosion on the water line.

While the caulkers were thus occupied, Aires da Silva with the mariners baled out all the water which the ship had made; but, as the repairs could not be finished on that day, so soon as night came on Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to draw off, and that Tristão de Miranda should cause the ship *S. Pedro* to be hauled in front of the small ships, and the latter at nightfall ordered his cables to be strengthened, because in the daytime not a boat dared venture out.

When the Turks saw the ship they began at once to fire a very large gun at her, and at the very first shots swept her decks clean from one side to the other. And although our men underwent danger with considerable risk of their lives, yet the Turks did not get off easily, for our artillery had killed a great many of their men and many horses inside the fortress, and had thrown down all the wall in such a manner that Roçalcão and his captains dared not go into the keep because of the danger of going along towards it, and he ordered his men to repair during the night the wall which our artillery knocked down during the day.

CHAPTER XLVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the stockade, wherewith the Turks had surrounded the fortress in order that our ships should not go inside, to be pulled up; and how he went to the city after having put them inside, and what further took place.

While affairs were thus situated the great Afonso Dalboquerque, in order to completely cut off all chance of the Turks receiving their wished-for reinforcements, sent a message to D. Garcia de Noronha that he should send him

two small ships and a barge with their *arrombadas*[1] very strong, and artillery, and order them to pass through the shallow pass,[2] in order thereby to assault the fortress upon that side; and he was to have in readiness many waggons laden with cannon balls, and gunpowder, and many mantelets, benches,[3] gabions,[4] pickaxes, and large and small artillery on carriages, and everything else that was needed to attack the fortress by sea and by land, and the captains of the trained-bands to have their men ready, for as soon as he had the ships within the stockade he would be with him.

At receipt of this message Dom Garcia ordered his ships to be made ready, with their *arrombadas* made of coco-nut fibre[5] and barrels, and the barge to be prepared and fur-

[1] *Arrombadas;* cables lashed round a heavily laden ship, with empty barrels on the water's edge, to give additional buoyancy in shallow places.

[2] *Passo seco.* The city of Goa had no walls of its own, though at the time when Linschoten and others visited it the ancient walls existed, but without gates. It was protected not only by the fortifications raised for the defence of the harbour, but also by the long wall covering chiefly the eastern side of the island. This began with a fort in the north-east part of the island at Daugim, and extending from that point to the church of São Braz, was joined there to an old Muhammadan fort which had been rebuilt by the Portuguese; thence it proceeded to Benastarim, where it met the fortress of São Thiago. It then took a southern direction to the fort of Mangueiral, and thence to that of S. João Baptista. This wall had three principal gates, at which sentinels kept watch day and night, and as people passed through them in crossing over to the Muhammadan territory on the mainland, they were called *passos.* They corresponded with the three forts abovementioned—the *passo* of Daugim, to the north-east; the *passo secco,* shallow pass, or ford of São Braz, to the east; and that of Benastarim to the south-east. This last was most frequented by the people, especially as articles of daily consumption were carried through it from the mainland to the city.—J. N. da Fonseca, *Sketch of Goa.* Bombay, 1878, p. 153. See also the coloured plan of Goa in MS. Sloan. 5027A, folio 52.

[3] *Bancos de pinchar;* an heraldic term, explained by Bluteau. Here it appears to signify a three-legged stool or bench used in storming operations.

[4] *Cestos.*

[5] *Com suas arrombadas de cairo e de pipas. Cairo* is the outer or fibrous shell of the coco-nut, with which in the Maldive Islands, and other parts of India, all ships' cordage and rigging is made.

nished with a large gun; and he conferred the captaincies of these ships upon Fernão Gomez de Lemos and Antonio de Matos, and that of the barge upon João Gomez; and as soon as they were ready they proceeded on their way up the river, and when they tried to pass over the shallow pass, the ship which Antonio de Matos commanded, being larger than the others, took the ground, and it was necessary to remove from her the *arrombadas* with which she was supported in order to pass over, and because the weight of the artillery which she carried upon her deck was very great the ship canted over and capsized.

Nevertheless, Fernão Gomez de Lemos and João Gomez passed over, and on arriving at the fortress fixed immediately upon a bulwark which was on that side, and berthed themselves so close to it that the Turks from the top of it shot some of their crew with matchlocks and with arrows, and swept the vessels through and through with their guns; but, notwithstanding this, like men of courage they stuck to their post and would not quit it. And when Roçalcão saw that an attack was made upon him on that quarter also, he issued immediate orders that four large guns should be conveyed to that part of the fortifications; and in the lower part of the curtain of the wall, and above also, he commanded that guns should be placed, and by these means he shot through our ships from one side to the other, but our party, with all this danger, did not fail to pay him out for it in the same coin.[1]

And when Afonso Dalboquerque had made sure that no reinforcement could possibly reach the enemy from that quarter, either of troops or supplies, he made up his mind to pull up a stockade with which the Moors had encircled the fortress, and to berth the ships inside the space in order to have their decks flush with the walls, and ordered Tristão de Miranda and Aires da Silva, who were with him in the

[1] *Não deixavam de lho pagar na mesma moeda.*

ship, because the ship of the latter captain remained outside for the reasons already shewn, to drive the ship *S. Pedro* against the palisades in order to overthrow them, and so make a large hole through which they could get in, for that which the Moors had left for convenience of getting to the fortress was very narrow. And behind these he sent Pero de Afonseca, Antonio Raposo, and Vicente Dalboquerque to do likewise; and all the while that these captains were running their ships with great courage close up to the stockade it was not without great risk, for they were well plied with the enemy's artillery, arrows, and gunshot. And, as soon as night fell, Afonso Dalboquerque went up to them, and thus they destroyed a large quantity of the stockade.

When this had been accomplished he commanded Tristão de Miranda to lay out an anchor beyond the palisades and haul in the ship *S. Pedro* upon the cable as far up inside the space thus thrown open as he could, and the other ships to follow after. And as soon as the Turks perceived that our side were occupied by night with getting the ships into positions inside the stockade, they threw down burning trusses of straw to the foot of the wall, and taking aim at our men by means of the bright light thus afforded, fired their guns at them; and our men being now opposite to the very mouths of the guns, and Afonso Dalboquerque running great risk in the skiff which he used, the captains begged him earnestly to withdraw outside the palisade, because in thus exposing himself to danger the whole of the enterprise might be put in jeopardy; for he ought to take rest, they said, while they carried out in the best and bravest possible manner the undertaking which he had appointed them to do.

But Afonso Dalboquerque, with his accustomed invincible spirit, replied that he could not remain at rest while he saw them in their present dangerous position, but they must do what he had ordered, for he did not intend to leave them

without knowing in what condition they were left. And when he had got the ships inside the stockade all ranged in order so as to attack the fortress, he retired outside with the intention of going to the city to make ready to bring up a reinforcement by land, and, as he withdrew, the enemy picked off two of the black men who were rowing in his skiff; and when he got outside he made his way to the *parão*, and from it despatched two Canarese peons to go to the mainland and take captive some one who could speak the native tongue and give news of the Hidalcão; so they went and caught two Moors who were coming to the fortress of Benastarim, and from them he learned that Içufularij[1] was on the march with two thousand men to relieve the fortress, and that within the fortress there was a combined force of about six thousand Turks, Rumes, and Coraçones, and of the other troops there were about three thousand, including a hundred musketeers and three hundred horsemen.

On hearing this news, Afonso Dalboquerque appointed Aires da Silva chief captain of the ships, and attached to his service a *parão* to act as a tender for supplying water and necessary provisions, and told him to attack the fortress on the side of the sea with his forces directly that he (Afonso) fell upon them on the land side. And having arranged this plan he set sail for the city in the *catur* which had brought him. This operation went on for eight days and eight nights, and, during the whole of the time, the Turks never ceased firing their artillery, whereby our ships were well riddled because they were close to the ramparts, and in the direct line of the guns. And our people who were engaged in this enterprise used to say that, during these eight days, the Turks fired more than four thousand times at them with guns of large bore, beside the smaller

[1] This is probably the Portuguese rendering of the Arabic name *Yusuf-ul-Araj*; *i.e.*, "Yusuf the Lame".

shot, and from the top of the wall used to fire at them with arrows and matchlocks, whereby they wounded a great many of our men. The masts, yards, and shrouds of the ships were so thickly covered with arrows which had stuck into them that it was a terrible thing to behold them.

Tristão de Miranda and Vicente Dalboquerque, although at this time they were but youths, bore themselves very bravely in those days, and became so stunned with the continual roar of the Turkish artillery and our own (for their ships were in the vanguard all through the affair), that for a long time afterwards they could not hear anything. Aires da Silva, also, on his part, performed the deeds of a very valiant cavalier; and the accident which happened to his ship was owing to the fact that he thought little of warps and of kedges,[1] but only cared to be the first of all to make an end of anything, for he did not know what fear was. And after Afonso Dalboquerque had departed for the city, Aires da Silva, learning that on the other side of the mainland a caravan of draught oxen had arrived with a supply of provisions for the fortress, started one night with the men he had with him in his ships, and fell upon them and burnt their houses, and killed a great number of the Moors, and captured all the provisions, and those who were left alive took to flight. Pero de Afonseca and Antonio Raposo also on their part fought with great bravery, and without any fear of the enemy's guns laid out their anchors.

As for this enterprise thus taken in hand with so many guns and so many of the enemy's forces in a fortress, I do not believe there was ever seen or heard such another in those parts of the world, for very often Afonso Dalboquerque used to chide our men for not considering the risks in which they placed themselves, both body and life, for the ships were so battered all over by the artillery of the Turks, that there was not a place left in which they could have

[1] *Nunca curou de rageiras nem de proizes.*

secured themselves, had it not been our Lord's will to preserve them in that peril.

CHAPTER XLVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque arrived at the city [of Goa], and of the great reception with which the inhabitants met him, and of the rest which passed with the Turks.

After that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had succeeded in cutting off the Turks who were in the fortress from any succour which could have reached them, he made his way by water to Goa in the *catur* which had brought him to the fortress; and when he had reached the quay—seeing that this was the first time that he had entered the city since his return from Malaca—the inhabitants came down to receive him at the gate of Saint Catherine, where his disembarking was conducted in the following manner.

D. Garcia de Noronha, with all the crews of the fleet; Manuel de Lacerda, captain of the city, with all the *Fidalgoes* who inhabited it; and Pero Mascarenhas, with the trained bands; and the judges and aldermen, and the rest of the native population in their company. And they had prepared for him a young mare, on which he was to ride, with a caparison of brocade, and stirrups, and all the rest of the housings of very finely chased silver, and a canopy of brocade, which the aldermen of the city were to carry; and, on arrival at the gate, they made him an oration, the substance of which was the great delight that all had felt at his return, and their joy at the victory which our Lord had given him against the power of the king of Malaca.

And when the harangue was finished, Manuel de Lacerda drew near and delivered up to him the keys of the fortress. And after all these ceremonies had been performed, Afonso Dalboquerque spoke to all present with great love and kind-

ness, and, riding upon the young mare, which they had provided for his use, surrounded by all his retinue, he began his procession direct to the church, all going in front of him on foot; and, while he was yet in the middle of the way, the clergy came to receive him with a cross raised up aloft, and no sooner did Afonso Dalboquerque perceive it, than he got down off his horse, and, falling down on his knees before the cross, he declared to those who carried the canopy that they ought rather to take the cross under it, for such an honour ought not to be shown to anything except that cross, which resembled the one upon which our Lord had suffered, and in this manner they all followed after it up to the church. And when the sermon was ended, Afonso Dalboquerque again mounted upon the young mare, and attended by the canopy, made his way to the palace of the Çabayo, wherein he lodged, and immediately began to attend to the affairs which were necessary in order to go by land against Benastarim.

And when he was ready to set forth, with the determination of conducting a vigorous storm against the fortress, and so making a broad passage way whereby a body of soldiers might enter, news was brought to inform him that Roçalcão had quitted the fortress and was on his way, marching with a large force of infantry and cavalry in order of battle to challenge the city. And Afonso Dalboquerque, as soon as he received this intelligence, ordered Manuel de Lacerda, captain of the city, to be mounted by break of day —for it was then night—and Pero Mascarenhas, Antonio de Saldanha, João Machado, Fernão Caldeira, Manuel Fernandez, João Cabeceira, Lourenço Prego, and Diogo Fernandez the *Adail,*[1] to go with him, and reconnoitre the enemy.

On the following day, early in the morning, these went out by the gate, and proceeded to the heights over a valley

[1] See vol. ii, p. 137.

where Roçalcão was bivouacing with his forces; and as soon as Manuel de Lacerda caught sight of the enemy he sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque of the position occupied by Roçalcão, and that the probable number of the enemy were estimated at three thousand men. At receipt of this intelligence, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded a sally by Ruy Gonçalvez and João Fidalgo, with three hundred men of the train-bands, crossbowmen, and musketeers, and some with pikes, to go along the direct path and unite themselves with Manuel de Lacerda by way of reinforcement; and behind these he sent thirty more mounted men, with a message to Manuel de Lacerda to maintain his position, supporting the trained band, but not to engage in battle with the Turks; and, if he observed that they were determined to fight, then he was to send him word.

When Roçalcão perceived that our men were few in numbers, he came on with his men in battle array. But Manuel de Lacerda remained where he was, and would not fight with him. Then Roçalcão, seeing how determined our men were, halted, and dared not advance any nearer upon them. And while the two were in this position, João Machado was running to the city, and he told Afonso Dalboquerque how Roçalcão was on the point of offering battle, and it was for him (Afonso) to say what he desired to be done. And at this news he summoned all the captains and narrated to them the state of affairs. And as soon as João Machado began to affirm that Roçalcão was desirous of fighting, the opinion of all was that the Portuguese ought to sally out in a body with all their men, and go and fight him.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied to them that since they had decided already to go and attack the fortress by land, as they had already blockaded it by sea, and to cast the Turks out of it, it did not seem to him to be good counsel to go about all over the country skirmishing about with the Moors, but rather they ought to seek the victorious con-

clusion of their undertaking with hearty good will, for the Moors were good archers, and their soldiers always in open order, and lightly armed, and could close up and open out their ranks whenever they thought fit, whereas our men could not do so, for they were all heavily armed, and far too much encumbered to manœuvre in skirmishing order with the Turks in the field; but over and above all these objections, they all again affirmed that he ought to sally out and fight the Turks.

Thereupon, Afonso Dalboquerque finding himself compelled by the weight of this counsel. ordered the advance to be sounded, and the gates opened, and he sallied out into the open country with the whole of his forces, having divided it into three companies.

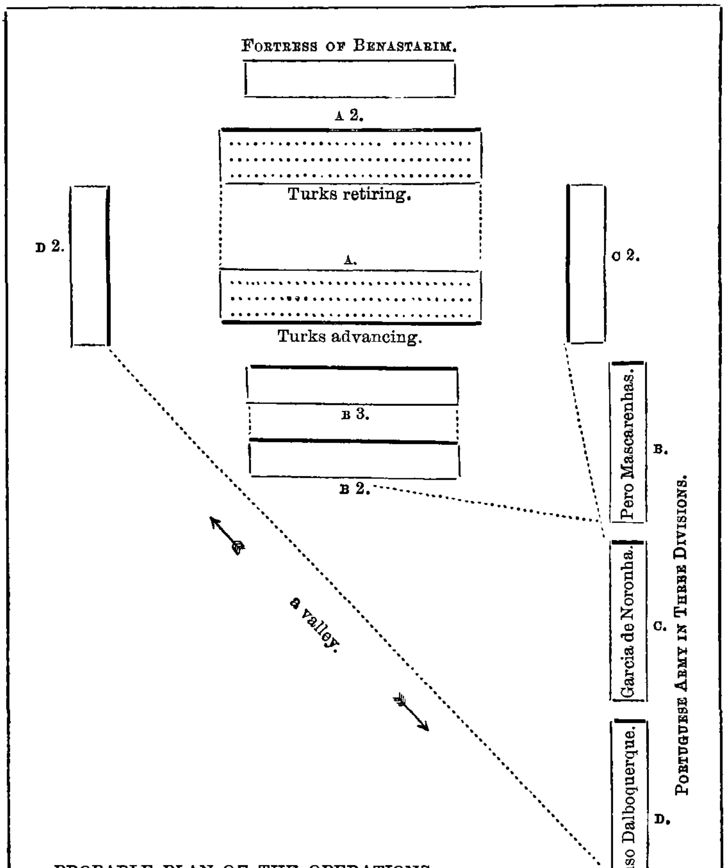
In the van (B)[1] he sent Pero Mascarenhas, with orders to unite with Ruy Gonçalves and João Fidalgo, and to take charge of the train-bands. And in the main body (C) D. Garcia [de Noronha], accompanied by Pero Dalboquerque, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo,[2] Antonio de Saldanha, Francisco Pereira Pestana, Jorge Dalboquerque,[2] Jorge Nunez de Lião, Gonçalo Pereira,[2] D. João Déssa,[2] Diogo Fernandez de Beja, D. João de Lima, Gaspar Pereira,[2] Jorge da Silva, Ruy Galvão, Pero Correa, João Delgado, Manuel de Sousa, Jeronymo de Sousa, and many other *Fidalgoes* and Cavaliers; while he himself and the rest of the forces followed in the rear-guard (D); and so, marching in this order of battle, in sight of the Turks (A), Roçalcão began to push on his battalions towards ours.

When Afonso Dalboquerque saw this he ordered Pero Mascarenhas to wheel round the train bands so as to face the enemy (B 2), and D. Garcia to keep on his way in quick march to their right (C 2), while he bore on to their left, and improved his position going up a valley, taking the Turkish

[1] See plan.

[2] See p. 208. These came in the fleet of Jorge de Mello, A.D. 1512.

army in flank (D 2); but as D. Garcia got on considerably faster than he could, he sent him word to halt and keep his ground until he himself should reach the head of the valley, for the place was one of very great strategic opportunity



PROBABLE PLAN OF THE OPERATIONS
mentioned on pp. 223-225.
The thick lines shew the front of the columns.

for attacking the Turks. Roçalcão perceiving how eager our men were to give him battle, halted, and ordered his forces not to advance any further.

But Afonso Dalboquerque, as he was an experienced

soldier, soon observed that the Turks desired to retreat, like people who had changed their original intention, so he ordered Pero Mascarenhas to press them somewhat more vigorously (B 3), and D. Garcia de Noronha to follow them along his line, and Manuel de Lacerda to support the train-bands with the cavalry, according to the instructions he had already received, and then the Turks, finding themselves with the train-bands in front of them, fell into disorder and turned round (A 2) and faced towards the fortress.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

How Roçalcão was put to flight, and the great Afonso Dalboquerque followed in pursuit after him up to the very walls of the fortress of Benesterij, and of what further took place.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that Roçalcão was facing to the fortress he ordered Manuel de Lacerda to fall upon the Moors with his mounted men; and as our men were closing up with them one thousand native Canarese peons became separated and went up along a rising ground. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing that they marched along in disorder, detached from his army a body of soldiers who were to manœuvre so as to get in between these peons and the main body of the Turks, and when these peons saw that they were cut off, they quitted the road on which they were travelling and made their way to the ford of Gondalij, because it was the nearest, and crossed over the river, and many of them were drowned in the passage.

During this event Pero Mascarenhas with the train-bands had already come up with the Turks and was engaged with them, and D. Garcia de Noronha on the right hand was rapidly coming on; and both the one party and the other, for they were all now so very close to the fortress, again fell upon the Turks so courageously that they caused them to

lose all their horses, and the enemy being in great dread of our own men in this onslaught, they all got in in a crowd inside the fortress, they then shut the gates, leaving a great many outside, who with great trouble saved themselves with headgear which those who were inside threw over to them; others ran along the side of the fortress and made their entry good on the other side, and many of these stuck in the mud and were stifled to death; others again, who preferred to throw themselves into the river, were intercepted and put to death by Aires da Silva and other captains, who came up in the boats, and got out at the foot of the wall with their men protected with shield work, for they thought that the time had arrived at which Afonso Dalboquerque had ordered them to do so.

As soon as the Turks saw our men at the foot of the wall they threw down so many stones, and shot bows and arrows, and muskets at them so continuously that they were compelled to retire with a great number of the detachment severely wounded. The other part of our forces, which was stationed on the land side, finding themselves close up to the wall of the fortress, tried which way were easier to be done; whether, as some did, upon the top of pikes, or, as others, jumping on foot (for the wall on the side of the city is lower and less strong than on that of the river), and as there were some *Fidalgoes* and Cavaliers on the top, Roçalcão came up with a body of Turks and essayed to throw them down off the wall, and wounded many with arrows, musket shot, powder-cans, and blazing bundles of hay, without getting any advantage over them; and as for the Captains whom Afonso Dalboquerque was expecting to help him in rallying his men, who were on that side, these were they who were working very hard to get up, helping each other up by the leg; and the first who got up this was Pero Mascarenhas, who was in command of the trained bands, whom Afonso Dalboquerque after the rally embraced and kissed

on the face, whereat some were scandalised, although they had no need to be, for besides his actions that day like a brave cavalier, Afonso Dalboquerque was under an obligation to him, for he had left the Fortress of Cochim, of which he was Captain, and had come to serve the king in that war.

Francisco Pereira Pestana, who was the one who was most concerned at this, went up to the wall, and striking it with the palm of his hand (and this he did not without hurting himself), said, "I should like to know if the women pedlers of Lisbon will say that Francisco Pereira was in this affair". Afonso Dalboquerque reproved him, saying he was astonished that he could do such a thing at so inopportune a moment. And Francisco Pereira, as he was a passionate man and of irritable nature, began to exchange angry words with Afonso Dalboquerque, and the strife went so as for him to say, "Why do you pick quarrels with me, and not with Duarte de Lemos, because he showed you his teeth, I suppose?" To this Afonso Dalboquerque replied with great forbearance, for in all his dealings he was always a pattern of patience, "He may well shew them, for he has very large and very long ones";[1] and without saying another word he turned his back upon him, for but a few days before, when they were at high words, Afonso Dalboquerque had borne with Francisco Pereira and omitted to punish him, and said to him on that occasion, "I vow by my life, Francisco Pereira, I am so angry that I could tear myself," and then he took hold of a slashed scarlet cloak which he was wearing, and tore it.

D. Garcia de Noronha, with all the rest of the forces who were posted on the right hand side, owing to the unmanageableness and kicking of the horses which the Turks had abandoned in order to save themselves on the top of the wall, fell into such confusion that the enemy prevented them

[1] This refers to vol. ii, p. 242, where the unusual length of Duarte de Lemos' teeth is mentioned.

from getting to the wall or to the gate, and had enough to do as it was to defend themselves; but the Turks also, before they could get up on the wall, were severely handled by our men, who killed many of them. And in this hurried action, in which all were engaged in pursuit of the Turks, Roçalcão thought he was entirely overthrown and the fortress entered; and, indeed, there would not have been much doubt of this if our men had only been prepared for such an event.

Afonso Dalboquerque, with his body of men who were on the left wing, began to assault a bulwark where Miliqueaye,[1] the second captain, was posted with a large body of men, and defending it with great bravery; notwithstanding this, our men were confident that they could have prevailed over the enemy in such a manner as to get upon it so that Afonso Dalboquerque could have easily placed his flag upon the wall at that place if he had had any hope of being supported on the other sides; but, as Benestarij was a very large town, and he had not any artillery at hand with which he could make a breach in the wall, he ordered the men to retire. And, although our soldiers on that day did not do more than what I have related, it is well worthy of praise that so many cavaliers and noble people, loaded with heavy arms and during the intense heat, should march from Goa to Benestarij, a distance of two leagues, on foot, and succeed in laying hands on the wall, and with so much courage have it in their power to enter into a fortress in which were stationed so many Turks, who knew very well how to defend it.

In this engagement they wounded Manuel de Lacerda, Pero Dalboquerque, Jorge da Silva, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Ruy Galvão, Pero Correa, João Delgado, Ruy Gonçalvez, captain of the trainbands, Diogo Fernandez de Béja, Manuel de Sousa, Jeronymo de Sousa, and many others of noble

[1] *Miliqueaye*; perhaps for *Melek Yahya*, the second word being equivalent to *John*.

degree who had accompanied their captains and fought very valiantly, not fearing the fire nor the powder-cans, muskets, lances, arrows, and stones with which they had to contend. And besides these above-mentioned, we had a list of wounded amounting to a hundred and fifty soldiers who served with the artillery, for they were posted close to the foot of the wall. But this was not without its reward, for of the Turks there were a great many killed and wounded before they could retire into the fortress; and of the peons who were left outside when the gate was closed there were many killed, as well as two Hindoo captains, one called Miralle,[1] the other Conaique.[2]

CHAPTER XLIX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque rallied his people, and went back to the city; and how he returned again with all his battle array to besiege the fortress, and of what passed with Roçalcão.

When our forces had withdrawn from the foot of the wall, the great Afonso Dalboquerque drew up in front of the fortress, in a spot where none of the enemy's guns could reach him, and stood there a long space of time with all the captains, *Fidalgoes*, and Cavaliers, surveying the manner of action which ought to be carried out in order to be able to get in; and when all had been carefully examined he set off for the city with the whole army, and there he remained for several days attending to the wounded and resting the unharmed from the labours which they had gone through on that day. And he gave orders for the immediate preparation of all the artillery,

[1] *Miralle;* probably for *Mir Ali,* a title and name frequently adopted by the descendants of the Prophet, through the Khalif *Ali*, his son-in-law.

[2] *Conaique;* I am unable to suggest the probable equivalent of this name.

scaling ladders, *bancos pinchados*,[1] mantlets, empty barrels for the stockades, and everything else that could be collected in the city for such an enterprise; and when all was in order and on the route, after a lapse of two days he ordered the trainbands to sally out, with all the crossbowmen and musketeers, to convoy these munitions and wait for him at the *Two Trees* (which is the half-way mark from Goa to Benestarij), and there they were to pitch his tent; and on the following day, in the morning, he set out with the whole of the army, to the number of about three thousand five hundred men; and when they had reached the *Two Trees*, he pitched his camp, surrounded on all sides by artillery, and there he stayed for two days waiting for the supplies of which he had given charge to Bastiam Rodriguez, his dependent, who is now Warden of the Balance at the Mint of this city of Lisbon. And when he had arrived, Afonso Dalboquerque put himself on the march with all his array in three companies, and ordered Pero Mascarenhas to lead the trainbands in the vanguard with all the artillery, and erect some stockades in which he could plant the guns.

As soon as our men came in sight of the fortress the Turks commenced to fire at them, and Afonso Dalboquerque, in order to pay them out in their own coin, ordered Pero Mascarenhas to fire at them in like manner. But when our artillery began to play, the Turks, who showed themselves on the top of the wall, withdrew inside. Thus having cleared the wall, Afonso Dalboquerque dismounted from the young mare which he rode and made his way on foot to the spot in which Pero Mascarenhas had imparked his artillery, and as night fell he ordered it to be advanced more towards the fortress, in front of a certain place which João Machado had pointed out to him as having the wall weaker there than elsewhere, for his intention was to throw down a portion of it so as to be able to send into the breach

[1] See p. 215, n. 3.

a strong storming party whom the Turks could not withstand. And on that day which they arrived they did no more than pitch their camp all round about the fortress, and on the morning of the following day Afonso Dalboquerque returned and placed himself in a spot where his back was against a rock to see what our men were doing.

The Turks, who felt their pride wounded by Afonso Dalboquerque's being able to stop there, began to train their guns towards that part more frequently, and at this juncture Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos came up; but when he perceived how unsafe it was to remain in that situation, and how continuously the balls were coming against them, he begged Afonso Dalboquerque to step behind the rock, for in the place where he then stood he ran great risk of being hit; and although Diogo Mendez and Afonso Dalboquerque were not on very friendly terms, yet the latter did as he was advised, and just as they were going behind the rock a ball came and killed a man who was conversing with him, and he was covered with blood. Afonso Dalboquerque gave many thanks to our Lord that he had saved him from that peril, and ordered that the ball should be preserved and be plated with silver and taken care of against his funeral obsequies, and carried to Our Lady of Guadelupe[1] with a very large lamp of silver and a collar of gold set with very rich stones, and he contributed a hundred thousand reis in cash to be invested for the purchase of the supply of oil for the lamp, and all this was performed by Pero Correa, who became his executor.

When this incident was over, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded D. Garcia de Noronha to push forward his stockades nearer to the wall during the night, for he was somewhat too far off; and he set to work about this with such diligence that before morning broke he had made a stockade of greater strength than the original one, with a number

[1] A church in the Island of Goa, to the south of the town.

of barrels and baskets full of earth, and all the artillery arranged in their proper positions, and Afonso Dalboquerque was on his mare all the night long seeing after the progress of the work. And at daybreak, when Roçalcão beheld our stockade brought much nearer to his fortress, he made ready four hundred Turks and ordered them to assault it.

Pero Mascarenhas, Ruy Gonçalvez, and João Fidalgo, who were in command of the trainbands stationed in a hollow, in order to be out of the range of the Turkish artillery, came up at once on hearing the alarm of the attack, and Dom Garcia de Noronha came up on the other side and fell upon this party with such impetuosity that before the Turks could withdraw a number of them were left stretched upon the field. As soon as the Turks had retired our artillery began to play upon the wall with such fury from the morning until the evening that there was not a single Moor who dared to shew himself between the battlements.

And because we had in our camp some very powerful guns, and the gunners were very skilful at their work, they began to breach the wall in several places. So when Afonso Dalboquerque saw the state of the walls, he gave orders to the captains to hold themselves in readiness to assault the fortress on the morrow in the morning, and take the Turks by force of arms; but he said he would not appoint them the place, only that every one was to be on the alert, and where they saw him thither everyone was to repair; and he also ordered the gunners to approach yet nearer to the fortress with the guns. Roçalcão, finding himself pressed so hardly on the sea side, as well as on the land, and having no hope of any relief, sent for Miliqueaye—the second captain, who was a native Coraçone—and all the principal Turks of the fortress, and made them a speech, in which he declared that they could well see for themselves how closely they were besieged, and cut off from all succour, and a great portion of the wall thrown down, and how greatly

they were in want in supplies and gunpowder, and all other munitions needful for its defence, and how slender were the chances they had of being freshly supplied with them therefore, as they could no longer hold out successfully by their arms, they ought to secure themselves by some arrangements of peace, which they must make with the Christians.

Miliqueaye and the other Turks, after considering the arguments of Roçalcão, and drawing a lesson from their recent experiences, came to the conclusion that he ought to beg for truce, with the intention of afterwards treating for an agreement upon terms of peace. And as soon as they had been agreed upon, early in the morning of the following day, Afonso Dalboquerque still adhering to his intention of storming the fortress, they hung out a white flag on the wall; and when he caught sight of it, he sent João Machado immediately to speak with Roçalcão and learn what he wanted; and João Machado went to the foot of the wall, and Roçalcão came down and conversed with him, and told him to say to the captain general that he must give him a safe conduct, for he would perform whatever was demanded of him. Then Afonso Dalboquerque, who thought it more important a matter to preserve the life of a single Christian whom he imperilled in the fight than to encompass the death of the whole of the Turks who were in the fortress, was very pleased, and sent word to Roçalcão that he must hand over to him two of the principal men of the Turks as hostages, and then he would send him a statement of what he would have him do. João Machado returned with the message, and as Roçalcão was anxious to make peace, he lost no time in sending him back again with the Turks who had been demanded.

CHAPTER L.

Of how the great Afonso Dalboquerque debated with the Captains and Fidalgoes who were there the terms offered by Roçalcão; and of the agreement which was made; and how he set out for Goa.

No sooner had João Machado returned with the two Turks who were to remain as hostages until the conclusion of the negotiations for a treaty of peace, for which Roçalcão sued, as I have related, than Afonso Dalboquerque summoned all his captains and *Fidalgoes* who were in that camp, and shewed them how the Turks of the fortress of Benestarij were already on the point of surrender, for Roçalcão, the principal Captain, had sent to discuss terms of peace, and had promised to do whatever was required of him, therefore it was necessary that all should declare to him their opinions, in order that he might send the reply to this the request of the enemy.

The reply of the captains was that they had offered themselves there at great risk of their lives, willing to suffer death for the service of God, and of the King Dom Manuel; and as they had so large an army there, with such a high spirit of victory, he ought not to entertain the proposals made by Roçalcão, but storm the fortress and enter it by force of arms, and get Roçalcão into his power; for that the enemy should sue for peace, while all the time he had with him in the fortress twice as large an army of Turks as there was of Christians outside it, was really because his condition was far more desperate than they all had any idea of, and therefore for these reasons, and for many others, they were of opinion that he ought not to enter into any treaty with him.

But inasmuch as Afonso Dalboquerque and D. Garcia, and others, were of the opposite opinion, he replied to these arguments that the best things the Turks had in the fortress

were the artillery and the horses, for as for the men, even if he took them all prisoners he would not give twopence for the whole of them, and he certainly would never allow them to set foot inside the city, for there was a great scarcity of provisions there; and if they thought that by giving them battle they would take Roçalcão prisoner, as they alleged, it was very doubtful whether they could do so or not, and it would very likely cost them the lives of four or five *Fidalgoes*, or perhaps even twenty, seeing that every one was anxious to be the first in; for eight thousand Moors, surrounded, and cut off, without any hope of relief, would of necessity spill much of their assailants' blood before they could be quite beaten down; and therefore it was his opinion and firm resolve, that if Roçalcão would surrender him the fortress with all its artillery and the horses, and everything else that it contained, and deliver up to him the renegades, then he would let them go, even if he had to build them a bridge of silver to enable them to pass over to the mainland.

Having settled this, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to Roçalcão, through João Machado, that, provided he agreed to the conditions which I have related, he would make peace with him, and let him go freely away; but if he would not accept these terms, then he must know of a certainty that he would not spare his life, nor the life of a single person who was left in the fortress. And as Roçalcão was very desirous of peace, he agreed to every condition; but as for the renegade Christians, who were in his host, he begged Afonso Dalboquerque not to make any special demand for them, for he could not surrender them, seeing that it would be contrary to the law of the country.

To this Afonso Dalboquerque replied that the principal point of all which he required to be conceded was the surrender of the renegades, and unless this were adhered to he would not listen to any further proposals; Roçalcão there-

fore, perceiving how determined he was, and being very desirous of feeling himself free and out of the toils in which he was involved, desired rather to ameliorate the necessity of his condition than comply with the obligations of his law; so he told João Machado to declare to the great Captain that as he made so great a matter of the renegades he would surrender them on the condition that Afonso Dalboquerque would spare their lives.

This Afonso Dalboquerque granted, and sent back a safe conduct for him and for all the Turks and Moors, provided that they carried away nothing with them except only the clothing in which they stood up. And as soon as Roçalcão received the safe conduct, he lost no time in sending his wives over to the mainland; and when they were all over on the other side, he and Miliqueaye (who was the second in command of the fortress), fearing lest Afonso Dalboquerque should violate his safe conduct, crossed over immediately, forgetting all about the promises which they had made to the Turks that they would not quit the fortress without, first of all, seeing them safely out of it.

CHAPTER LI.

How our men entered the fortress, and wanted to pillage the Turks, if the great Afonso Dalboquerque had not prevented them; and what passed with the renegades, and how he set forth towards Goa.

As soon as the news ran through the camp that Roçalcão and Miliqueaye had crossed over to the mainland, our people, eager to sack the fortress, came on in a confused mass and got inside it, and began to pillage it, and illtreat the Turks, many of whom, out of fear, cast themselves into the river and were drowned. But when Afonso Dalboquerque perceived this disturbance he went up to the gate to hinder the people from going in until it was com-

pletely evacuated by the Turks; nevertheless, after he got to the gate he was compelled to go in, in order to adhere to the pledge of safety which he had given them, and only with great difficulty could he prevent our men from killing and robbing them.

And as the Moors were very numerous, and there were no means of passing them on to the mainland so expeditiously as Afonso Dalboquerque desired, in order to make an end of this business of casting them out, he ordered the boats belonging to the ships to be brought up, along with some watchboats which he had there, and by these means he began gradually to reduce the numbers of people who stood on the shore. Notwithstanding this, so numerous were the Persians, Turks, Coraçones, and other people of the country, that they took two days in passing over. And it fell out that on the very next day in the morning after all had passed over to the other side of the mainland, Içufularij, Captain of the Hidalcao, arrived to relieve Roçalcão with a great body of men and a large quantity of supplies; but inasmuch as Benestarij was by this time surrounded, both by land and sea by our men, it was perfectly impossible for them to get in, and Içufularij, when he saw the fortress in the hands of the enemy, and no help for it, returned with the army which he had brought back again to his own lands, very much discouraged, and throwing great blame upon Roçalcão for surrendering a fortress which contained so many people for its defence.

The Turks, too, feeling themselves safe, waited for nothing else, but went away immediately under their Captains, with a large number of whites, into the interior country. And as soon as the fortress was entirely clear of the enemy, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders that all the horses and artillery which it contained should be collected together, and the dilapidations of the fortress be repaired in the strongest manner that was possible, and replenished with

more artillery and munitions of war, and he appointed a captain with a retinue of soldiers to guard it.[1] And after he had completed his provision of these matters he commanded them to bring up before him Fernão Lopez and the other renegades; these men, when they found themselves in his presence, fearing that he would not keep the promise he had made them of sparing their lives, threw themselves at his feet, and with many tears besought him to have mercy on them. But Afonso Dalboquerque, who could not break his word, kept the promise which he had made of not taking their lives, according to the promise given to Roçalcão, so he ordered that their right hands, and the thumbs of their left hands, and their ears and noses should be cut off in memory and as a terrible example of the punishment meted out to them for the treason and wickedness which they had committed against God and their king.[2]

[1] The fort of Benastarim became very famous in the annals of Goa after the Portuguese conquest. Pietro della Valle makes especial mention of it, as also the house in which the commandant of the fort then resided, from the balcony of which a splendid view of the surrounding country could be enjoyed. In this fortress there was a very large gun which had been taken from the Mahammadans, and which was, until lately, preserved as an historical reminiscence.—*J. N. da Fonseca*, Sketch of Goa, Bombay, 1878, p. 153.

[2] Castanheda, in his account of this horrible cruelty (a foreshadowing perhaps of the tortures invented by the Inquisition at Goa in later years), attaches even more horrid details to this great blot upon the otherwise magnanimous character of Afonso Dalboquerque. He says that the hair of the wretched men's heads and beards was torn out by the roots, and the raw places smeared with mud. He adds some interesting information respecting the life of Fernão Lopez, whom he himself saw in the island of St. Helena. The passage is as follows:—

"E ho principal que ho moueo a fazer isto, foy por ser exemplo a outros que não fizessem outro tanto, e tambem por não ficar sem castigo hum crime tamanho como aquelle foy. E a justiça foy com lhes mandar pubricamente e com pregão cortar narizes, orelhas, mãos dereytas, dedos das ezquerdas, e entregalos aos moços que lhes depenassem os cabelos das barbas e das cabeças, e que os enlameassem, e injuriassem, e a Fernão Lopez sobre todos porque era de mais qualidade: e por derra-

This Fernão Lopez, who was the ringleader of the renegades, set out on his return to Portugal after the death of Afonso Dalboquerque, but when he had got so far forward on the voyage as the Island of Saint Ilena, he made up his mind to stay there with a slave who belonged to him, and there he ended his days. He was the first who made a habitation in this island, establishing a Hermitage, and planting many trees, and he bred a great number of hogs and goats, so that the site became a very commodious place

deiro foy degradado pera Portugal, e eu ho vi na ilha de santa Helena, onde por seu rogo ho capitão da nao que ho leuaua ho deixou sò: e ali viueo muyto tempo, seruindo a nosso señor arrependido do peccado que fizera. E disseramme que assi ele como muytos dos outros sofrerão estes tormentos com muyta paciencia dizendo que mais merecião polo graue peccado que cometerão."—*Castanheda*, lib. iii, ch. xciii.

Correa gives even a more revolting account of this punishment, which was spread out over three days, and resulted in the death of more than half the number of the victims. He says:—" Depois de os mouros serem deitados fóra da ilha de Goa, o Gouernador proueo e afortelezou os passos da ilha, como dito he. Logo entendeo com os arrenegados que estauão com o Roçalcão, os quaes, com baraços nos pescoços e mãos atadas detrás, forão leuados á picota fóra da cidade, com pregão que dizia: 'Justiça que manda fazer ElRey nosso senhor, que manda bascamar estes homens, porque forão trédores a sua ley e a seu Rey; e a morte lhes he perdoada pór amor do Hidalcão.' E chegados á picota negros algozes e moços do pouo lhe depennarão e arrancarão quantas barbas tinhão, até as sobrancelhas, e lhe tirarão com lama fedorenta de chiqueiros de porcos, que pera ysso já estaua prestes, aos rostros e olhos, onde os fizerão taes que lhe nom parecião os rostros; com que forão tornados á prisão, em que jazião deitados com correntes de ferro nos pés e pescoços, e algemas nas mâos, e assy como jazião mijauão e sayão por sy. Então ao outro dia, assy d' esta maneyra como estauão, os tornarão a leuar á picota com o mesmo pregão, onde lhe cortarão as orelhas rentes e os narizes, e os tornarão á prisão, onde os meterão como estauão assy nas correntes de ferro sem serem curados. E ao outro dia assy os leuarão á picota com seu pregão, onde lhe cortarão as mãos direitos e os dedos polegares das esquerdas; com que forão tornados á prisão, e forão curados de suas chagas. De que na prisão morrerão mais d' ametade delles, e os que ficarão forão soltos, que liuremente se fossem por onde quigessem; o que assy fizerão, que todos desappareçerão."—*Correa*, pp. 315, 316.

of shelter for our ships which touched there on the homeward voyage from India.[1]

[1] Correa's account of this unfortunate man, whose adventures are worthy of record here because he is believed to have been the first settler upon the island of St. Helena, is as follows:—

"Fernão Lopes se meteo em huma nao do Reyno, que em Lisboa tinha molher e filhos, a qual nao foy apartar na ilha de S. Elena, onde tomarão agoa; onde este Fernão Lopes fiqou escondido, o qual achado menos na nao o forão buscar, e o nom achando lhe deixarão hum quarto cheo de biscoito, e tassalhos de carne, e pexe sequo, e sal, e fogo, e roupas velhas que cada hum deu; e a nao se partio, e lhe deixarão huma carta que vindo ally ter alguma nao désse sinaes de sy se era morto ou viuo, e se mostrasse pera o prouerem do que ouvesse mester; e a nao se partio. Fernão Lopes, vendo a nao partida, sayo do mato e tomou o que achou, e acendeo o fogo que se nom apagasse, e logo buscou pedras, que bateo humas com outras, e vio que ferião fogo, e as guardou. Assy com os quatro dedos da mão esquerda, e com o cotinho da direita que tinha cortada, como Deos lhe ministraua por sua grande misericordia, cauou em huma ribanceira, em que fez huma lapa, que dentro fez grande, em que se recolhia e dormia, e a boca da lapa tapaua com tojos. Achou heruas tenras, que erão gostosas de comer, que cozia com sal em duas panellas que lhe deixarão. Assy estando, o outro anno foy hy ter huma nao, e elle vendo vir a nao se escondeo.

"Os da nao, sayndo em terra que acharão a lapa, e cama de palha em que dormia, e os sacos, e as duellas do quarto em que lhe deixarão o biscoito, e as panellas, e os caruões do fogo, ficarão espantados, e crerão que erão negros que ficarião ally fógidos d'outra nao; mas vendo o fato assentarão que era homem portuguez. Tomarão sua agoa, nom bolirão em nada, antes lhe deixarão biscoito, e queijos, e cousas de comer, e huma carta em que lhe dizião que nom se escondesse, que quando nao ally portasse fallasse, que ninguem lhe faria mal. E a nao se fez á vela. Em largando as velas da nao cayo as mar hum galo, que as ondas trouxerão a terra, que o F. Lopes recolheo, e lhe daua arroz que lhe deixarão, com que o galo fiqou com elle em tal amizade que sempre o acompanhaua onde andaua, e de noite se recolhia com elle á coua. Este galo esteue com este homem muytos annos, a que elle chamaua; que depois passando a tempo este homem parecia, e fallaua com a gente das naos que passauão, e todos lhe dauão cousas pera prantar e semear, em que fez muytas aboboras, romãs, palmeiras, ades, galinhas, porcas, cabras prenhes, que tudo se fez em muyta criação, e tudo se fez brauo do mato.

"Este homem esteue muytos annos só n'esta ilha fazendo esta espantosa vida, o que sendo dito a ElRey desejou muyto de o vêr, porque lhe dizião que era como homem seluagem; polo que ElRey o mandou rogar

Afonso Dalboquerque, after having provisioned the fortress with everything that was requisite for it, made his way to the city with all the army, and there they were received by the entire populace with a great procession at the city gate, and from that gate they marched straight to the church, to return thanks to Our Lord for the great victory which he had given them over their enemies; and when all these ceremonies were over, he immediately established a hospital of very large size, with beds and everything that was necessary for the care and cure of the wounded, who were very numerous; and he commanded Garcia de Sousa to take certain ships and cruise off the bar of Dabul, and not permit a single vessel to go into, or out of, the port, with the object of making war upon the Hidalcão wherever he was able to prevail against him.

que por sua vontade fosse ao Reyno. O que elle fez, e foy, e escondido desembarqou em casa do capitão da nao, d'onde de noite hia fallar com ElRey, e a Raynha, que lhe dauão hermedys e casas de frades em que estiuesse; o que elle nada quis aceitar, mas ouve licença d'ElRey e se foy a Roma, e se confessou ao Papa, que folgou de o vêr, e ouve cartas pera ElRey que o tornasse a mandar á ilha. O que assy o fez ElRey. Esteue este homem n'esta ilha passante de dez annos, sem nunqua o ninguem vêr, porque se elle escondia.

"N'esta ilha fiqou hum moço jáo fogido, que assy esteue com elle muytos annos. Este moço foy o que o descobrio a huma nao que hy foy ter, em que hia por capitão Pero Gomez Teixeira, que fôra ouvidor geral na India, que fez tantos medos as negro que o foy descobrir onde estaua escondido; que vendose tomado fez grandes prantos, cuidando que o querião leuar na nao; mas P. Gomes o consolou, e com elle muyto fallou, e segurou que o nom leuaria, e lhe deu muytas cousas, postoque elle os nom queria e muy aficadamente lhe rogou que leuasse o moço. O Pero Gomes o leuou, com F. Lopes lhe prometter que se nom esconderia á gente. O que assy concertado o P. Gomes lhe deixou hum seu assinado em que pedia por mercê a todos os capitães, que ally chegassem, que nom fizessem força ao querer leuar ao Reyno contra sua vontade, porque todos os tempos passados que se escondia era com esse medo que tinha; polo que lhe dera seguro em nome d'ElRey, e lho jurára, que ninguem o leuaria da ilha contra sua vontade. Com que o F. Lopes fiqou seguro, com que se nom escondia, e fallaua com todos, e daua do que nacia na ilha, que foy em muyto crecimento: e na ilha morreo depois d'ahy a muyto tempo, que foy no anno de 1546."—*Correa*, pp. 316-318.

As soon as Garcia de Sousa had set sail, Afonso Dalboquerque prepared a large supply of lime, stone, and masonry, in order to fortify the fortress of Benestarij, and strengthen the island passes, which had great need of it; and he renamed the fortress *The Castle of St. Peter*, because of the name of the ship which had there been broken to pieces in front of it. And he appointed Manuel Fragoso to the command of the outwork of Pangij and the tower of the island of Choram; and to Bastião Rodriguez, cavalier of the king's household and the present warden of the balance in the Mint of the city of Lisbon, he gave command of the tower of Divarij, and because this latter officer was a householder of Goa, he conferred also upon him the office of chief Alcaide of Goa during his life. And because these passes were the principal ones, and of very great importance for the security of the transit from the mainland to the island, he made the completion of them a matter of great urgency, for his real intention was to penetrate the straits of the Red Sea, and take Adem, if it were possible; but of this enterprise he had given no account to any one, that his voyage thither might not be suspected. Yet, because the time of the monsoon was now at hand, and he had a number of matters which he had to put in order, before entering upon them he determined first of all to dispatch the ambassadors of the kings of India who were awaiting him at Goa. Pedro Mascarenhas also, seeing that the siege of Benastarij was over, begged permission to return to his fortress of Cochim, but Afonso Dalboquerque, anxious to leave him in office as Captain of Goa, out of great confidence in his courage and discretion, desired him earnestly of his goodness to be pleased to remain where he was to superintend the completion of the towers, for which, indeed, all things were by this time ready prepared, for in so doing he would advance the king's service much more than by returning to, and staying in, Cochim.

CHAPTER LII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, with a fleet against Calicut; and how he dispatched the ambassadors who were waiting for him at Goa, and the rest which took place.

Now, inasmuch as the great Afonso Dalboquerque was very angry with the Çamorim because he had broken his word, in respect of the peace which he (Afonso) had sent by ambassadors to conclude while he was on the way to Malaca, in which embassage Simão Rangel went; therefore, when the proceedings against Benestarij were finished, Afonso Dalboquerque, out of a desire to be revenged on him, sent D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, to go up against Calicut, and do as much harm as he could to the Çamorim, and blockade the coast in such a manner that not a single ship should leave the port with spices for Méca. And, because certain ambassadors of the kings of India had been for a long time waiting in Goa, as soon as D. Garcia had set sail, Afonso Dalboquerque occupied himself upon their dispatches, and ordered the secretary to lay before him all the papers and letters of the Hidalcão; and when he had examined them, he sent for the ambassador of this prince, and told him that if the Hidalcão desired to be at peace and have friendship with the King of Portugal, his Lord, he himself would be very much pleased, but the articles which he had brought were not similar in their import to those which the Hidalcão had frequently written; and therefore, in order to clear up this matter, he had determined to send him back with an ambassador in company with him.

The ambassador of the Hidalcão replied that there was no variation whatever in the articles; but if he desired to send to the Hidalcão a messenger from the Portuguese, and any delay should arise from this circumstance, he would desire

him earnestly that during the period of time consumed in arranging the articles of peace, he would be pleased to command his captains to open the port of Dabul,[1] and give free ingress to the ships which were thither bound with merchandise and provisions. Afonso Dalboquerque was so desirous of coming to some conclusive understanding with the Hidalcão, that he lost no time in sending word to D. Garcia de Sousa, who was watching the port of Dabul, to set free the shipping of the port, provided that no prohibited merchandise were carried; and if the Moors should desire permission for a free navigation of their ships, they were to be sent to apply for it at Goa.

Having therefore dispatched this ambassador, Afonso Dalboquerque sent, in company with him, to treat for peace, Diogo Fernandez, *Adail* of Goa, and the son of Gil Vicente as his scrivener, and João Navarro as his interpreter, and six complete services of horses, and a native captain with twenty peons to attend them on the way. And when Diogo Fernandez had set out on his journey, Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched the ambassador of the King of Cambaya, who had been going up and down Goa for some time; but his departure was prolonged as much as possible, for as the Portuguese fleet, which was in course of preparation, was very large and being prepared very carefully with everything that was requisite to perform any undertaking, however important it might be,—although he had not yet given any account to anyone of the route he intended to follow,—he was fearful lest the Moors should surmise that he was preparing to enter the straits of the Red Sea, and, by the medium of Cambaya and Miliquiaz (who was very cunning), his enterprise should come to be known before he could start, so that Adem, which he was determined to attack, should get ready to withstand him. And what made him believe this more than ever was, that just at this juncture

[1] See the map of Fernão Vaz Dourado, vol. ii, p. 1.

there arrived unexpectedly another messenger from the King of Cambaya, who gave out that he had come to hasten forward the settlement of the treaty. The principal reason why Afonso Dalboquerque delayed concluding this dispatch was because he was very desirous of having a personal interview with the King of Cambaya, and as it was now very late in the season, and they were like to lose the monsoon for the Straits, and D. Garcia de Noronha, who was to accompany him, could not possibly join him in time to perform the two enterprises [of going to Cambaya and the Straits], because he had so many things to attend to in Cochim and Calicut, Afonso Dalboquerque finally dispatched the ambassadors with the intention that when he was tacking for the Straits he would make his way to Cambaya and visit the king, provided that there were time enough for it.

And when he had examined the articles and conditions which the King D. Manuel had appointed as a basis of peace, he determined to send in company with the ambassador, Tristão Dégа as ambassador to the King, and João Gomez as his scrivener, with a present of articles from Portugal and India; and the instructions which our ambassador carried were to demand leave to erect a fortress in Diu, for the security of the subjects and property of the King of Portugal; and that the merchants of that kingdom should send their merchandise to Goa and not to any other part, and there they would find everything they required by way of a homeward-bound cargo; and that the king should not receive any Rumes or Turks into his kingdom, because they were capital enemies of the Portuguese.

And after this Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched a messenger who had come from Miliquiaz to visit him as long ago as before his arrival at Malaca, and before this one returned, orders were given that he should be taken round to inspect the king's arsenals, which at that time were full of artillery, saddles and horse gear, weapons, and all kinds of munitions

and material of war, and all the stables filled with horses, and a general review of all the crossbowmen and musketeers was ordered; there were a great number of these, for every householder of Goa, whether married or single, was obliged to carry a crossbow or musket, not only for the defence of the city, but also in case of the occurrence of any unforeseen event.

And Afonso Dalboquerque likewise commanded that this messenger should inspect Benestarij, which the Turks had built very strongly with ramparts, and see the place where our ships rammed it, and took it by force of arms from the Turks, not dreading in the least the numerous guns which were posted on these ramparts. And Afonso Dalboquerque also desired that he should be taken into the fortress and see the destruction which had been wrought within it, in order that he might tell his lord not to place much confidence in the ramparts of Diu, if the King of Portugal were to command him to take it; and by means of this policy, which Afonso Dalboquerque knew well how to carry out both in peace and war, as long as he was Governor of India, Miliqueaz never felt himself very safe in Diu, although he was very crafty in dissembling this fear.

CHAPTER LIII.

How an ambassador from King Vengapor arrived at Goa, and how the great Dalboquerque bore himself with Roçalcão, and what passed with them.

When Tristão Dèga and the ambassadors of the king of Cambaya had set out in one of the ships belonging to Miliqueaz which had come to Goa laden with provisions, the great Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched Gaspar Chanoca to go to Narsinga, for he had been sent thither when the expedition to Malaca was just about to start, and had re-

turned with the answer, bringing back in his company an ambassador from the king of Narsinga with a present for the king D. Manuel, and this ambassador finding that the Portuguese had not returned from Malaca, went back, and this was the reason why Afonso Dalboquerque sent Gaspar Chanoca back again with similar instructions to the king, giving him an account of the siege of Benestarij; and among many other matters which he was to relate to the king there was this, that inasmuch as all the kings of India had granted a site in their harbours for the construction of a strong house wherein the property of the king of Portugal might be preserved, and he was very desirous of being on friendly terms with the king, therefore he ought to grant him such a site in Baticalá; and, in return for this, he would willingly forward all the horses that came to market at Goa to Narsinga, for he would be much more pleased to send them to him than to the Hidalcão; and although Fr. Luis had written to Afonso Dalboquerque not to place much reliance upon this king's friendship, nor to trust in his words, yet, as long as the king of Garçopa was living, Afonso Dalboquerque was content to temporise with him, for the king D. Manuel had frequently sent word to him to strive to keep on good terms with him because he was a Hindoo.

Three days afterwards, there arrived an ambassador from King Vengapor to congratulate Afonso Dalboquerque on his return from Malaca, and his success at Benestarij, and brought for him a present of sixty horse trappings, with their covers and tail pieces, of very beautiful workmanship and finish, with twenty-five saddles with their stirrups and furniture,[1] and sent word to propose to Afonso Dalboquerque that he should be appointed to the government of the

[1] "*Sessenta cubertas de cavallo com suas testeiras, e colas, obra muito bem feita, e acabada, com vinte e cinco sellas com seus estribos e guarnições.*" Cf. "Ephippia, frontalia, phaleras, et tegumenta."—*Osorius*, p. 263.

lands of Goa, and for them he would pay a certain specified rent, and that he might be allowed to take three hundred horses, of which the king was in great need.[1]

Afonso Dalboquerque received the ambassadors with very great kindness, and commanded that the horses which he required should be supplied to him at his own price, and he added many things for the king in return for the present, always making much of him, for besides his seeking after the friendship of the king of Portugal, and offering himself in person, and his forces to aid in the war at Goa against the Turks, his kingdom is a veritable and safe road to Narsinga, and well supplied with provisions, and in it they make caparisons and saddles, and everything required for horses, so that Goa could very well avail herself of all these things whenever need of them should arise.

When this affair was over, Roçalcão, who was waiting quietly in the territories of Goa, on the other side of the river, after the rout of Benestarij, very often sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that he would be glad to have an interview with him, and it could take place whenever he liked; and when Afonso Dalboquerque excused himself from this, Roçalcão knowing that he was ready to set out from Goa, became more importunate in his requests. Afonso Dalboquerque being wearied with him, and considering that no harm would be done to the treaty of peace, which was being negotiated with the Hidalcão, if they communed together, appointed a meeting in the river of Benestarij, and met

[1] "Rex Vengapor (est autem Vengapor Regio mediterranea, cum Zabaimi regione continens), legatum ad Albuquercium de pace misit. Nomen enim illius per omnes illas terras cum hominum admiratione vagabatur, et multi ob eam causam Regis Emmanuelis imperium sequi volebant, ut in illius tutela constituti, aliorum Principum tyrannidem declinarent......Hoc autem postulabat, ut liceret sibi equos trecentos precio, ut alii faciebant, persoluto, ex urbe singulis annis educere. Fuit huic postulato satisfactum, et legatus honorifice dimissus."—*Osorius*, p. 263. From this it appears that the horses were to be delivered yearly.

him, but nothing passed except compliments made to him by Roçalcão, with expressions of desire of his friendship, and to be at the service of the king of Portugal.

By this interview Afonso Dalboquerque plainly perceived that Roçalcão did not feel himself very safe in the position which he then occupied, and that the Moors, who observed how small a force he had left under him, and how he was out of favour with the Hidalcão, were thinking of raising a quarrel with him; and that it was because he might avail himself of the power of the king of Portugal, for he dreaded lest the Hidalcão should come against him, that he was so desirous of being on friendly terms with the Portuguese.

Therefore Afonso Dalboquerque would not accept the offers of Roçalcão, but treated him with uncertain words, that he might have nothing to complain of, until it could be seen what position the Hidalcão would take up in the treaty of peace. And when the interview was over, Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of Roçalcão for news of the Hidalcão; and he replied that there was a serious dissension in his camp, for the Persians and Coraçones were opposed to the Turks and Rumes because they had put to death Camalcão, one of the chief captains of the court, and the governor of his property, who was by birth a Persian. And so when they had conversed upon these events and others, Afonso Dalboquerque took his leave of Roçalcão and returned to Goa without coming to any agreement with him.[1]

[1] Correa, at p. 324, says that Afonso Dalboquerque excused himself from any interview with Roçalcão, "O gouernador se escusou de fallar com elle, somente lhe mandando palauras d'amizades".

CHAPTER LIV.

Of the arrival of the embassy of the Prestes João at Goa, and of the manner in which he was received; and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent him to Portugal, and the rest which took place.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque reached the city he found therein Estevão de Freitas, who had come back from Dabul with a message for him from D. Garcia de Sousa, in which he notified that at that port there had arrived a ship from Zeila bringing an ambassador from the Prestes João,[1] king of the Abyssinians, to the king of Portugal, and the governors of the land had detained him, and he desired to know what he ought to do, for, as he had received commands to raise the blockade of the port until further orders, he did not dare to meddle with him.

This news very much gratified Afonso Dalboquerque, for the king D. Manuel had often written to him to do his utmost to obtain information concerning the Prestes João and the men whom the king D. João before his death had sent to that country by land.[2] He, therefore, lost no time in sending back Estevão de Freitas in the *fusta* which had brought him, with message to D. Garcia de Sousa that he should send the ambassador to him. And when Garcia de Sousa received this message he sent word to the governors of the land that the man whom they had detained was an envoy from the Prestes João to the king of Portugal, and that the captain-general of India hearing of his arrival had written for him to be sent on, therefore he begged them of their kindness to hand him over for that purpose, and that the matter would not admit of any doubt. The governors, although they had at first determined not to allow this man to go on any further without hearing from the Hidalcão—

[1] See vol. I, chap. liv.

[2] See vol. II, Introduction, p. viii; and chap. xlix.

to whom they had sent word of his arrival—nevertheless, dreading lest Garcia de Sousa should maltreat them, changed their mind and delivered him up. And as soon as Estevão de Freitas had got him into his possession, he hastened the man's preparations for his departure, and supplied him with provisions and everything that he required for his voyage. And as soon as he reached the bar of Goa Afonso Dalboquerque commanded all the *Fidalgoes* and Captains to proceed to meet him in their boats. This ambassador brought with him a piece of the Wood of the True Cross for the king D. Manuel. Afonso Dalboquerque, therefore, went to the beach to receive him, with all the clergy and inhabitants of the city, with crosses in procession, and there they took up the Wood under a canopy to the Cathedral Church, and after all had given great thanks to Our Lord because he had shewn them so desirable a thing as this was, the opening of a road whereby communication could be made with the Prestes João, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that the ambassador should be entertained and supplied with all necessary things for the expenses of himself, his wife, and a young man and woman of Abyssinia who were in his suite.

The ambassador's name was Mateus; he was a white, and of good bearing, and stated that he was the brother of the Patriarch of Abyssinia. And although our people doubted whether he were really dispatched by the Prestes João or not, and declared that he was a Moor, a spy sent by the Grand Sultan, yet he conversed upon matters of the Faith like a man who had been brought up among Christians.

What an astonishing thing it is that our people should have doubted this man to be a true ambassador from the Prestes João, and decided hastily that he was a Moor, for not small was the fame of the name and power which the King D. Manuel had acquired in those parts of the world; not small was the reputation of the constant war which he

was waging with the Moors, that a king so seriously dedicated to Christianity, and so desirous of being in communication with Christians, and within twenty days' sail of India, should never trouble himself to learn what manner of men, and what sort of people Christians were, although he had in his own territories Portuguese whom D. João the Second had sent thither; and that although he had Jerusalem so near to him, whither his own subjects were continually journeying to visit the Holy Sepulchre, they should doubt whether the Warden of [the Friars of the Order of] St. Francis of Mount Sion had sent him a piece of the Wood of the True Cross! These are the works of Satan, who ever seeks to exercise his influence in the quarter where he perceives he can do the greatest injury.

Two days after this, Afonso Dalboquerque commanded that the ambassador should be brought before him; and in the presence of Pero Dalpoem, the secretary, and Alexander de Ataide, the interpreter, enquired of him what route he had taken, and how it was that the Prestes João had sent him in this manner, without sending also with him some of the Portuguese who were in that country, and what message it was that he brought with him for the King of Portugal. The ambassador replied that he had come by way of Zeila, and that only in the same hour in which the Prestes João had summoned him to depart, had he disclosed also to him his route, without giving notice of it to anyone, and had then put into his hands the letters for the King of Portugal without saying anything to him beyond this, that he was to make his way to India, and beg the Captain-General to give him a passage to Portugal; for had he not started on his journey with these precautions, and had it been known in the Court of the Prestes João that he was setting forth with a message for the King of Portugal, in no wise could he have passed through the country of the Moors without great peril. The message which he brought was that the

Prestes João, his Lord, sent word to desire the marriage of his children with those of the King of Portugal, as it were in exchange; and to offer him troops and supplies for the destruction of the House of Méca and the Grand Sultan of Cairo, and all these he would order to be conveyed to, and delivered at, any port of his country, whichever he might select; that the Wood of the True Cross which he brought was sent to the king by the Warden of Jerusalem, with whom he was in friendly communication; and all these matters which he had asserted could be proved to be true by the letters.

Afonso Dalboquerque declared that it was not his custom to open letters which were directed to the king of Portugal, nor to make trial of the ambassadors who were on their way to him; but he would dispatch him on his journey immediately, so that he might make the passage in the ships which were just on the point of sailing for Portugal. And in order that this Wood of the True Cross might go with greater ceremony and reverence before the king, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered a casket of gold to be made for its reception. And as he was now very anxious to set out on his journey for the Straits, he sent this ambassador to Jorge de Melo Pereira, captain of Cananor, with orders to grant him a passage in the ship of Bernaldim Freire, or of Francisco Pereira, whichever was best suited for him, and to supply him with everything necessary for his voyage.

But at Cananor the captain and everybody held this ambassador to be a buffoon and a spy sent by the Grand Sultan; therefore, no sooner had Bernaldim Freire, in whose ship he took his passage, set sail, than he received very bad treatment at that captain's hands, and at Mozambique, where the ship watered, he was even put in irons by advice of Francisco Pereira, and they did many other things

(thinking thereby to injure Afonso Dalboquerque), which I will not repeat now, because they are dead.[1]

And when they arrived at this kingdom of Portugal, although Bernaldim Freire, with the hopes of justifying what he had done, said a great many terribly bad things against the ambassador, notwithstanding all, the king D. Manuel, in accordance with Afonso Dalboquerque's letters, gave him a very good reception, and always treated him in the manner due to an ambassador. And when the ambassador himself had lodged his complaints with the king concerning the treatment which he had experienced at the hands of Bernaldim Freire and Francisco Pereira, the king ordered that these men should be thrown into prison in Lisbon Castle, and there they remained until the ambassador set out for India, well provided, and in company of D. Rodrigo de Lima, who was sent by the king D. Manuel, as ambassador to the Prestes João. And when Diogo Lopez de Sequeira,[2] Governor of India, was entering the Straits with a fleet, and just going into Maçua,[3] Mateus the ambassador died, but D. Rodrigo proceeded upon his embassy, whereof I do not give any account, because it did not take place in the time of Afonso Dalboquerque. And in these same ships which made their voyage to Portugal that year,

[1] These actions, which are so magnanimously passed over unrecorded by the author of the *Commentaries* are thus clearly described by Correa. "......meterão o embaixador em ferros, e lhe dormirão com as molheres, e esbofetearão e depenarão as barbas, defamando que era truão, falso, e espia do Turqo, que Afonso Dalboquerque que nom o soubera conhecer, e o queria fazer embaixador do Preste com enganos per ElRey por se fazer grandioso," etc.—Page 327.

[2] Diogo Lopez de Sequeira, whose portrait is given, from Goa, by Pedro Barreto de Resende, in Sloan. MS., 197, p. 15, succeeded Lopo Soarez de Aluergaria [the successor of Afonso Dalboquerque] in A.D. 1518, and gave place in 1521 to Dom Duarte de Menezes. For some biographical memoranda of this governor the reader is referred to the above MS., and vol. ii, pp. 31, 45.

[3] *Maçua*, on the African side; see Map, vol. i, p. 80.

there came an ambassador from the king of Ormuz, of which I will make mention in his place.

CHAPTER LV.

Of the arrival of D. Garcia de Noronha at Cochim; and how, after settling the order in which the vessels were to be arranged, and dispatching the ships which were to sail to Portugal during that year with their ladings, he set sail for Calicut with all his fleet, and what took place there.

D. Garcia de Noronha having arrived at Cochim, and having given orders to the vessels concerning the cargo which they were to carry that year to Portugal, and arranged those which he was to take with him, set sail for Calicut with all his fleet; and when he got in front of the city harbour, the prince, brother of the Çamorim (who was friendly to us), sent word to say that his brother the Çamorim was desirous of being at peace with the king of Portugal, and would be happy to grant a site in Calicut for the erection of a fortress, and would pay him tribute. Nevertheless, on account of the delays and artifices which had been practised upon Simão Rangel, D. Garcia would not give any reply to the proposals, but went on with the war, and blockaded the coast in such a manner that not one ship of all those which were ready laden to sail for the Straits ventured out; and there he remained during the whole of the month of January, until Afonso Dalboquerque wrote to him to quit the coast and come away, disclosing to him secretly how he intended to sail into the Straits of the Red Sea, whereby they would be more certainly enabled to capture those ships with all their goods than at Calicut.

As soon as D. Garcia received this intelligence from his uncle he quitted the coast and proceeded to Cochim, and prepared all the ships which were already repaired, and set

sail with them, and reached Goa on the tenth of February, and gave an account to Afonso Dalboquerque of all that had passed with the Çamorim, and declared how, at the last moment, the prince of Calicut had written him a letter wherein he stated that the Çamorim was sorry that he had not come to terms of peace with him, and was now willing to grant him the site he had requested for the erection of the fortress, but up to the present time he had not so granted it, because the Moors who were settled in Cairo had prevented him; and he had not carried on the matter any further because of his recall.

At the receipt of this information, Afonso Dalboquerque waited at Goa for four or five days, and dispatched Francisco Nogueira with instructions (for it was the will of the king D. Manuel that if a fortress were built in Calicut he was to become the captain of it, and Gonçalo Mendez was to be the factor), that both these should go and conclude this business, because of his earnest desire to set his foot in Calicut. And Afonso Dalboquerque further commanded them on no account to accept any site for the fortress unless it were within the reef in front of their landing pier, in the harbour pool; and gave him letters for the captains and officials of Cochim and Cananor containing orders for them to contribute everything that was required for the work.

Francisco Nogueira having thus taken his leave of Afonso Dalboquerque set sail for Cochim to make his preparations, and delivered his letters to the captain and the king's officers; and from that port he sailed for Calicut to set to work about the construction of the fortress in accordance with the instructions which he had received from Afonso Dalboquerque. But when the Çamorim knew that Afonso Dalboquerque had sailed away from Goa, and that there was not sufficiently strong a fleet left on the coast to prevent ten ships from setting forth laden with pepper for the Straits, he temporised with Francisco Nogueira and length-

ened out the negotiations with complimentary communications. And Francisco, finding he was deceived by the Çamorim, returned at length to Goa, and remained there, waiting for the return of Afonso Dalboquerque; and, after he had set sail, the Moorish ships which had their cargoes on board ventured out and began their voyage, but when they had gone so far on their course as the latitude of Çacotorá towards Cape Guardafum, a squall struck them, of so tempestuous a character, that some foundered, and others ran before it and tried to put in to some of the ports of Cambaya as far back as Dabul. And when Afonso Dalboquerque came from the Straits, cruising along that coast, he captured them all, and took them into Goa; and at the loss of these ships the merchant Moors of Calicut were utterly ruined.

CHAPTER LVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave an account to the captains and officers of the King concerning the letter which the King had written to him respecting the surrender of Goa to the Hidalcão, and what was agreed to in this behalf.

When these affairs were over, the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered an assembly of all the Captains, and certain of those *Fidalgoes* who were more anciently connected with India, and the king's officers, and to each one separately he caused an oath upon the Holy Evangelists to be administered, that they would not divulge to anyone that which he desired to unfold to them; then he declared to them how some days ago he had received from the King D. Manuel a letter ordering him to discuss with them whether it were to the good of his service that Goa should be maintained or not, but as a heavy press of business had occupied his attention ever since the arrival of the letter, he had not given them any account of it, nor of certain articles, sent

to him also, which, in his opinion, were the work of Gaspar Pereira, Lourenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira, for he had long ago observed that they, not being pleased with the war, were engaged in these underhand tricks and conspiracies; and, inasmuch as he was of opinion that it would be very prejudicial to the estate and credit of the king to hold a public council over this matter, he had thought right to hold it in such a manner as would be least injurious to the king's service, and therefore he begged them of their goodwill to inspect the articles—which he there and then laid before them—and to write to His Highness what their opinions were concerning this matter, in order that he might send back their answers in the ships which were just about to start on the voyage to Portugal.

Letter from the great Afonso Dalboquerque to the King of Portugal concerning the maintenance of Portuguese power in Goa.

"Sire, I captured Goa, because your Highness ordered me to do so, and the Marshal[1] had orders to take it in his instructions; I took it also because it was the headquarters of the league which was set on foot in order to cast us out of India; and if the fleet which the Turks had prepared in Goa river (with a large force of men, artillery, and arms, specially assembled for this object) had pushed forward, and the fleet of the Rumes had come at this juncture, as they had expected, without doubt I should have been utterly discomfited; yea, even if ever so great a fleet had come from Portugal they would not have allowed it to make good its arrival in the country. But when once Goa was conquered, everything else was at our command without any further trouble, and when Goa was taken, that one victory alone did more for the advancement of Your Highness' *prestige* than

[1] D. Fernando Coutinho; see vol. II, chap. xiii.

all the fleets which have come to India during the last fifteen years. And if Your Highness, in deference to the opinions of those who have written this advice to you, thinks it possible to secure your dominions in these parts by means of the fortresses of Cochim and Cananor, it is impossible; for, if once Portugal should suffer a reverse at sea, your Indian possessions have not power to hold out a day longer than the kings of the land choose to suffer it; for if one of our men take anything by force from a native, immediately they raise the drawbridge and shut the gates of the fortress; and this causes Your Highness not to be Lord of the Land, as of Goa, for in this territory the injury which is done to Moors or to Portuguese does not reach beyond the Captain of the Fortress. Justice is yours, and yours the arm, yours the sword, and in the hand of your Captain-General reposes the punishment, and before him lies the remedy for the complaint of every one; and if today there be any improvement in regard to the obedience shewn by the natives of the land, it is plainly to be referred to the fact that the taking of Goa keeps India in repose and quiet; and the fact that the island has so frequently been attacked by the Turks, as those who wrote to Your Highness assert, and so valiantly defended by the Portuguese, enhances the credit which the progress of affairs in these parts deserves. And I have so completely disheartened the members of the league against us, that the King of Cambaya, powerful prince as he is, lost no time in sending to me his Ambassadors, and restoring to me all the Cavaliers and *Fidalgoes* who were shipwrecked[1] with D. Afonso de Noronha, my nephew, on their voyage from Çacotorá, without my sending to ask this of him, and even offered me permission to build a fortress in Diu,[2] a matter

[1] See vol. ii, p. 211.

[2] For a coloured plan, and description of the extensive fortifications made by the Portuguese in later times at Diu, see Pedro Barreto de

of such immense importance that even now I can hardly believe it; and I am now importuned by the Çamorim of Calicut, who desires to grant me a site to build a fortress in his city, and is willing to pay a yearly tribute to the Crown. All this is the result of our holding Goa, without my waging war upon any of these princes.

"And I hold it to be free from doubt, that if fortresses be built in Diu and Calicut (as I trust in Our Lord they will be)—when once they have been well fortified, if a thousand of the Sultan's ships were to make their way to India, not one of these places could be brought again under his dominion. But if those of your council understood Indian affairs as I do, they would not fail to be aware that Your Highness cannot be lord over so extensive a territory as India by placing all your power and strength in your marine only (a policy at once doubtful and full of serious inconveniences); for this, and not to build fortresses, is the very thing which the Moors of these lands wish you to do, for they know well that a dominion founded on a navy alone cannot last, and they desire to live on their estates and property, and to carry their spiceries to the ancient and customary markets which they maintain, but they are unwilling to be subject to Your Highness, neither will they trade or be on

Resende's MS., Sloan. 197, ff. 166 *et seq.* Mr. T. W. H. Tolbort, in his paper on "The Portuguese Settlements in India" (*Proc. Asiat. Soc., Bengal*, June 1874, p. 131), says Diú is the most interesting of all the Portuguese settlements after Goa, but the one least known to Englishmen, as it lies so out of the way. The passage from Daman to Diú in a sailing vessel takes, on an average, three or four days. The island of Diú lies to the south of Káthíwár. Its length from east to west is about seven miles; its average width from north to south scarcely a mile. It is separated from the mainland by a narrow arm of the sea, the eastern access to which is easy for ships of considerable burden, while the western access is obstructed by shallows. A portion of the Portuguese territory, including the village of Gogola, lies on the north of the inlet adjoining the mainland. The fortress or citadel of Diú, built by the Portuguese in 1535, a formidable and imposing structure, is at the ex-

friendly terms with you. And if they will not have any of these things, how is it likely that they will be pleased to see us establishing ourselves in this city of Goa, and strengthening its defences, and Your Highness lord of so important a port and bar as this is, and not labour with all their might to hinder us from accomplishing our intentions? And if it seems a hard matter to those who have written about this to Your Highness that the recovery of Goa should have been so many times attempted, how much harder must it have been to gain the country from so powerful a king as the Hidalcão, lord of so many armies, who is not likely to refrain from straining every nerve to recover the possession of it and striking a decisive blow at our *prestige*, if he could do so? And whenever any one of his captains shall come up against this city, are we to surrender it immediately without first of all measuring our forces against him? If this be so, Your Highness may as well leave India to the Moors, and seek to maintain your position therein with such extraordinary outlays and expenses on the navy, in ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them.

"As for the extraordinary expenses connected with the maintenance of Goa, of which these idle fellows write to

treme east or north-east point of the island. The fortifications are constructed of stone dug in the island, and the town or Praça is intersected by the numerous quarries thus excavated. The stone somewhat resembles the laterite of the Malabar coast, but is darker in colour and much stronger in substance. Three great events have made Diú memorable in the history of Portuguese India:—1. The death of King Bahádur of Cambay, followed by the siege of Diú, in 1537-8. 2. The second siege of Diú, in 1546. 3. The sack of Diú by Arabs from Maskat, in 1668. The two former are amongst the most glorious incidents of Portuguese history, and may be compared to the defence of Arkát or to that of Lakhnau in the history of British India. The third event was a sad contrast to the two former, and, with other contemporary disasters, marked the decadence of Portuguese power. Correa has preserved a sketch of the fortress in his days, about 1561.

Your Highness, the mere dross of India is so great, that if the Portuguese possessions be properly farmed by your officers, the revenue from them alone would suffice to repay a great part of these expenses to which we are put, and if they say that the reason why I desire to keep possession of Goa is because it was I who took it, Your Lordship may rest assured that if I were a Portuguese of such a character as they are, I would be the first, if you ordered me to destroy it, to put the pickaxe into the walls, and to fire the barrel of gunpowder under the keep,[1] if only for the pleasure of seeing the cards of the game of India shuffled for a new deal;[2] but as long as I live, and while it remains my duty to send an account to Your Highness of Indian affairs, Goa must not be dismantled, for I would not that my enemies should exult in the contemplation of any serious disaster to this estate; and I must sustain it at my own cost, until they get their wishes and another Governor be sent to rule over it.

"If this that I say does not agree with the ideas of some of those who are half-hearted about this matter of Goa, Your Highness may know for certain that as yet there is one man who is governing it: and old and weak as I am, I will accept the government of this conquered territory at Your Highness's hands, if it may be permitted me to confer the lands of the Moors upon the Cavaliers and *Fidalgoes* who have assisted me to gain them. But do not require of me every year an account of what I am doing as if I were a taxgatherer, because four ill-mannered fellows, who sit at home like idols in their pagodas, have borne false witness against me; but honour me, and thank me, for I shall be happy to complete this enterprise, and spend what little I have upon it: and, in conclusion, all that I have to say is, that if Your Highness either now or at any other

[1] *Torre de menagem.*

[2] *Por tal que este jogo da India se tornasse a baralha.*

time surrender Goa to the Turks, then plainly Our Lord desires that the Portuguese dominion in India should come to an end;[1] and, as for me, Your Highness may be sure that, so long as I am Governor, although I be put to much trouble, I shall not at any rate send you painted pictures of fictitious places, but rather kingdoms taken by force of arms from their masters, and fortified by me in such a manner that they may give a good account of themselves in all time.

"This is my opinion concerning this question of Goa, which Your Highness commanded me to discuss with its captains and officers."

Articles which the King sent to Afonso Dalboquerque concerning Goa.

"That Goa was very unhealthy, and was the cause of unnecessary expense, of no use except to give trouble to the soldiers.

"That therein there must always be a continued war, for the Hidalcão was so powerful, that he would be sure to try his utmost to recover it, because it was the capital of his dominions.

"That the revenues of the mainland, upon which Afonso Dalboquerque laid great importance, were impossible to be

[1] Compare these sentiments with the peculiar ideas of a writer who has lately visited Goa:—"Portuguese India is, thank Heaven, only a strip of about seventy miles long which they would do much better to sell to the British Government; for of all the God-forgotten, deserted holes, one thousand years behind the rest of Creation, I have never seen anything to equal Goa. Do not let the residents who read this fancy that I am touching them in any way. I only remember them as charming, kindly, gentle, hospitable people, whom I pitied for having to live there. I have lived in sandy deserts, and in primæval forests, and have suffered hunger and thirst, cold and heat, fatigue, privations, and danger, and thought it charming; but I hated the life at Goa. It is *dead*, and nothing rewards one."—*Arabia, Egypt, India*, by Isabel Burton. London, 1879, p. 300.

collected, except by maintaining a great number of people with heavy expenses for collection of this revenue, because the Hidalcão himself could not collect them without the assistance of a large army.

"That the Hidalcão would be glad to agree to any proposal, and become tributary to His Highness, provided that Goa were restored to him."

After all had examined these articles, they wrote to the king that they were amazed at His Highness desiring to surrender, in pursuance of the advice of men who had never donned a suit of armour for the sake of experiencing the trouble it would involve, a place so commodious and so important to his cause as Goa, which had been acquired at the cost of so much Portuguese blood. When the king read the letter of Afonso Dalboquerque, and the opinion of the captains, he wrote in reply that he considered it of great importance to retain Goa, and thanked him very much for the way in which he had conducted this matter. And as soon as the Turks had been cast out of Benestarij, a feeling of relief gradually came over Goa, and the city began to flourish, and those who had written to the king advising its demolition became very much ashamed of ever having written such a thing. And it was on this account that Afonso Dalboquerque often used to say that he deserved more thanks from the King D. Manuel for defending Goa for him against the Portuguese, than he did for capturing it on two occasions from the Turks.

END OF THE THIRD PART.

APPENDIX.

DESCRIPTION OF MALACCA, FROM PEDRO BARRETTO DE RESENDE'S "LIVRO DO ESTADO DA INDIA ORIENTAL".
Sloane Manuscript, 197.

MALLAQUA.

DESCRIPSAM DA FORTALLEZA DE MALLAQUA.

A FORTALLEZA de Mallaqua esta plantada na costa oriental F. 383. de Iuntana entre ho rio Panagim, e Muar em altura de dous graos e vinte menutos da Banda do Norte foy conquistada e fundada pello insigne Afonso de Albuquerque em quinze de Agosto de mil quinhētos e onze esta oje feyta Çidade que tem a fortalleza dentro, e a Çidade sercada de hum muro de pedra e cal de altura de vinte pés e a largura comessa embayxo em doze e arremata emsima em sete palmos. Tem seis balluartes em que entra ho que chamã Courassa cada hum chamado com o nome que nelles estam escritos. Todos os muros com seus parapeytos; e cada balluarte tem de prassa vinte passos. E o que chamã Madre de D[eo]s a tem dobrada de man[ei]ra que apenas pode ser defendido e lauado dos mais Balluartes: o sircuyto de todo este muro he de quinhentos e doze passos entrando tambem ho lugar que ocupam os Balluartes: do Balluarte do Ospital athe Sam Domingos ha contramuro e do de Sanctiago athe Madre de Deos com entulho no meo ficando tudo de largura de catorze palmos, a artilharia que ha nestes Balluartes sam quarenta e huma pessas de doze athe quarenta e quatro liuras de pillouro de ferro. Todas sam de bronze, tirado noue que sam de ferro pera a qual hâ bastante poluora

e monisõis nos almazeis de sua Mag^{de}, destas, estam lansadas no chã doze das grossas, sem repayros dedicadas pera ho forte da ilha das naos que se esta fazendo, e tambem estam algumas das outras pessas rebentadas =

Os cazados branquos que hâ nesta Çidade sam duzentos sinquenta, os quaes teram dous mil negros catiuos de diferentes nasõis, que todos sam de armas, e as tem bastantes pera elles: porque raro he ho cazado que nam tem seu cabide de lansas, e sete, oyto, e des mosquetes ou espingardas de pederneyra com monisõis bastantes para ellas: porem destes duzentos e sinquenta cazados branquos, os çento viuem da outra bando do rio que chamã a banda de Mallaqua. A respeyto de ho piqueno sircuyto qua fica dentro nos muros estarem tres Conuentos que ho ocupam quazi todo; o de Sam Paulo, Sam Domingos, e Sancto Agostinho e viuem os ditos cazados em cazas de palha arriscados a hum jnsendio = He esta banda muy fresca de pumares, e ortas de diuersos fruytos = Viuem fora de Mallaqua muytos cazados Christãos da terra todos muy boa gente de armas e as tem de toda sorte particullarmente espingardas porque tirã com ellas muyto bem. Estes em toda ocaziã de gerra sam muy prestes e dellegentes: os mais delles andã buscando sua vida: sam tam arriscados que por muy pouco dão com hum cris pella barriga ferida que tem pouco, ou nenhuma cura porque alem de serem estas armas pella mayor parte de pessonha, o modo de seu feytio acollebrinado mostra bem o dano que fara, alem de que a pesonha basta so tirar sange para matar.

A fortalleza que esta dentro nesta Çidade onde viue o Capitam he huma torre de sinquo sobrados, e no segundo viue o Capitã em huma caza de quadro como ho he a torre que tem cada pano de parede vinte passos. Nos outros
F. 383b. agazalha o Capitã ospedes e se tem a poluora. No primeiro se guardauã quatro mil candis de arroz que agora nã hâ. Tem huma serca de muro da mesma altura do da çidade e largura.

Ao liuel do segundo sobrado da torre vã correndo humas cazas onde se agazalha a famillia do dito capitã. Nã hâ aquy artilharia mais que a referida que fica nos Balluartes = =. Tem esta Çidade a renda do hum por sento aplicada pera as obras da fortificassã, que no tocante hâs do muro estam ja acabadas. O Rey da terra dentro onde esta esta fortaleza de Mallaqua he ho Rey de Jor e Pam, e grande amigo dos Portuguezes, he senhor de mais de çem legoas de costa, e nã se estende muyto pella terra dentro; no mar he tãbem senhor de hũa corda de ilhas que hâ neste destrito a mayor parte dellas abitadas; a gente sam Malayos, a ley que professã he de Mouros o poder que tem hê de athe doze mil homẽs de armas, e brigã com artilharia, mosquetes, azagayas, paos tostados que chamã salligas, espadas, rodelas, arcos, e frechas: crises de que se tem feyto mensã, e sompitas que sã hũas frechas piqueninas de pessonha que metem em zaruatanas e tiram com asopro cõ ellas e basta tirarẽ sangue para matarem loguo: Christandade nã hâ nas suas terras. E pello Rio asima de Mallaqua tem os cazados della muytos e muy frescas ortas cõ muyta diuersidade de fruytas que has hâ nesta terra muy boas alem de toda a sorte das que se dam na India muytas outras; e he muyto para notar que com esta cidade estar quazi debayxo da linha he de ares muy sadia e de aquas exsellentes, e muy fresca e fertil de tudo ho que lhe semeã: onde choue quazi todos os dias e noytes= Tem os cazados de Mallaqua muytas legoas de terra de que sã senhores. De huma banda athe o Cabo Rachado e da outra athe o Rio Fermozo, e tambem muytas legoas pella sertã, porem tudo despouoado sem quem ho cultiue, sendo terras muy fertĩs e que derã muyto arroz= Confina pella terra dentro cõ hos Manamcabos Mouros de huma terra que chamã Rindo, vassallos delRey de Pã, e junto delles estam sinquo ou seis mil tambem dos mesmos Mouros Manancabos, vassallos de sua Mag^{de} que tem hum Portugues cazado em Mallaqua que hos go-

uerna, que chamã Tamungam, offissio que da ho Vizorrey: a este obedessem: e morrendo algummo Mouro destes sem filhos erda-o este Tamungam, e tendo-os se conserta cõ elles: de todas as couzas que julga tem des por çento. Oje serue hum Portugues em vida este offissio= Laurã estes Mouros grandes terras de que se sustentã e particullarmente com muyto betre: comprã Callaym aos da terra dentro que vem trazer a Mallaqua= O Rio desta Çidade e porto de Mallaqua he de agoa dosse de hum tiro de pedra de largura: de bayxamar tem ho canal da barra palmo e meo de agoa e em conjunsã de agoas viuas so quatro dedos que apenas cobre a vaza de que he o fundo= e de preamar em agoas viuas huma brasa e quatro palmos; e em mortas de sinquo para seis palmos, e logo pouqua distansia pera sima vay estreytando e tem quatro e tres brassas e em partes o
F. 384. seu fundo sera de huma sem faltar em vazantes nem enchentes de mare: Tem muytos lagartos grandes e carniseyros por cuja cauza e ser de vaza se nam vadea= Por este Rio e terra dentro ha muytas ortas assỹ de cazados Portuguezes como dos da terra em que viuem com suas famillias laurando as terras cõ grande proveyto= ha muytos tigres que antigamente erã muy carniseyros e depois que hum bispo os excomungou ho nã sam tanto: Todos estes cazados tem suas armas= Mea legoa pollo Rio asima se atrauessa de noyte ho mesmo Rio cõ hum pao prezo em huma cadea e fechado cõ hum cadeado ao pee de huma guarita onde asiste hum Portugues que a Çidade proue e lhe paga cada mes seis cruzados por não leuarem nem trazerem fazenda defeza has naos grandes que ficã aynda ao mar da ilha das naos: a cujo respeyto se tem mandado fazer hum forte nesta ilha, a qual esta nã bem de fronte da Çidade senã hum pouco perabayxo distansia de mil e quinhentos passos da Çidade, e o canal que vay pello meo he piqueno, e nã capas de embarcasõis grandes, de bayxamar fica cõ muy pouca agoa e fundo de vaza:—Tambem fica outra restinga de area mais ao

mar e entre ella e a ilha hâ canal de seis brassas a ilha he mais cõprida que larga ves e mea: tera em roda sessenta brassas quazi da figura de huma ferradura de cauallo. Tem hum outeyro leuantado montuoso quatro pera sinquo brassas = O forte que se fas aquy pera que ja estã feytos aliserses he couza piquena de trinta passos de prassa em quadro pera que esta separada a dita artilharia: o effeyto pera que se fas he para defender as embarcasõis grandes que nã podem estar a sombra da artilharia da fortalleza e nã tem oje mais que hos aliserses ficandose ajuntando todos os materiais em Mallaqua pera se acabar todo de huma ves: porque indo se fazendo pouco a pouquo o pode vir senhorear o enemigo e huma ves ocupado por elle sera de grande detrimento a Mallaqua = = =

A ponte que se mostra na planta tem dous pegõis cada hum de dous brassas e mea de altura, e de outro tanto de comprido e cõ muy pouca largura cõ que se nã pode cuydar hos que algũs praticauã de serem estes pegõis couza donde se pudesse offender a Mallaqua: a ponte que esta em sima delles he de madeyros grandes e fortes que cadaues que se quizer cortar se pode fazer = = dos soldados do prezidio se tiram todos os annos sinquenta athe sesenta pera andarem embarcados em tres, quatro, athe sinquo jaleas que andam de armada nesta costa sayndo em Mayo a Pulopinã ou aonde se determina, a esperar os couzas de Goa para auisar aonde estã os enemigos, e ajudar o liurar: e em setembro a Junsalã a esperar as de Negapatam, sam Thome, e tambem de Goa: e em dezembro ao estreyto de Sincapura a esperar as da China, e Manilla pera ho mesmo fim = Ao Capitam Mor se da huma ajuda de custo de çem cruzados: e nam se da aos soldados e capitãis das jalleas por se embarcarem quartel nenhum senã so se-lhe-pagam os mantimentos com-que todos se dam por satisfeytos = e sam as capitanias das jalleas muy cobissadas e pretendidas porque susede muytas vezes nas muytas perdisõis que hos Olandezes cauzam has

nossas embarcasõis que vã de todas as partes leuarem as
F. 384b. jaleas o melhor e ho pior hê que sem ho tornarem a seus donos, o que susede particullarmente no que vem da China pella muyta vallia do que saluam que he ouro, sedas, e almiscar: e tambem se nam pode negar que saluã estas jaleas muytas embarcasõis e fazendas: mas conuem muyto andarem em pessoas muy desynteressadas, ou ao menos de boa consiensia que tam raramente se acha em soldados = Os mais gastos que fazem as jalleas sam de marinheyros porque trazem de sinquenta pera sima a respeyto de remarem vinte e tres por banda, hum mais ou menos, a fora os dous que gouernam a popa e proa, leuando tãobem algũs de sobresselente pellosque podem adoeser ou cansar, dasse a cada marinheyro huma para de arros que he pouco mais de hum alqueyre cada mes e hum cruzado de quatroçentos e sesenta rés todo o tempo que andam embarcados = e como huma jalea destas he de sinquoenta palmos de comprido pouco mais ou menos = e de menos de sinquo de largo, e quatro de altura de pontal, remada cõ quarenta e seis remos, fica a mais ligeyra embarcassã que anda no mar; que para auisos, socorros, e se poderem desuiar dos enemigos, seruem muy bem; e quantas mais ouverã milhor seruisso fizeram = Mandã se tambem algumas outras embarcasõis de Mallaqua com algũs auizos como Bantĩs muyto mais piquenos que jallêas que nam fazem gasto mais que ho dos marinheyros que fica dito e os mantimentos dos soldados que como em terra lhos pagã tam poucas vezes se embarcã por elles com muyta vontade; porque tambem quando as vezes se vam a alguma parte como a Pera e outros portos guanhar hum quartel dos mercadores, nem por isso sam lansados do presidio, nem deyxa de se-lhes-dar a sua paga, senam se entretanto la andã Iefes; porque de outra sorte nenhum soldado aturara na fortaleza com tam poucas pagas delRey sendo huma terra tam cara: e antes se pode estranhar auer aynda assỹ soldados que asistam nella = = =.

Huma couza se pode referir das molheres cazadas desta terra de grande louuor, e hê que nenhuma pede a seu marido nada pera ho gasto de sua caza que he ho conduto; porque ellas por sy ho buscam com couzas que fazem pera comer, que sam as estallagẽis que hâ nesta Çidade o que de ordinario andam suas escrauas vendendo pellas ruas = e logo desde pequeninas as vã suas mãnis criando neste exersisio de maneyra que nã ha filha nenhuma em caza de seu pay que nam tenha seu cabedal tambem separado pera isto: e assỹ quando na India se nã resseam tanto filhas a respeyto de hos homẽs andarem muy desemparados e se acomodarẽ com muy poucos dotes pessoas muy benemeritas; Tem este Vzo mayor forsa nesta terra pellas rezõis apontadas = = =.

As fazendas que hâ nesta fortalleza de Mallaqua quanto has que produze a terra sam muy poucas; e muytas as que vem de fora. As que ha na terra sam a prinsipal Callaym algumas pedras bazares e de porquoespim aguilla braua. O que tudo vem da terra dentro, e algum japam que he hum pao vermelho pera tintas pouquo menos que ho do Brazil; e vem lhe todas as drogas do sul e fazendas da China e tambem as roupas de Çambaya e costa de Choramandel e ahy as hiã buscar todas as nasõis do sul a troco de fazendas que traziã com que ficaua sendo o comersio muy grande, e nã menos os rendimentos o que esta quazi de todo extinto: porque nenhumas ou raras sam as nasõis que F. 385.
vem a Mallaqua a buscar nada: tendo tudo o que ha mister nos olandezes = mas aynda cõ este pouco se fazem viagẽis para muytas partes de Mallaqua = As prinsipais sam para a China, Manilla, CochimChina = e as de menos porte sam para Patane, como Sião esta oje de gerra: e quando nã, se nauega muy ordinariamente pera Camboja, Champa e pera todas estas partes se nauega pera o sul que comessa a ventar em Mallaqua de vinte da Abril athe todo Agosto: o que se leua pera estas partes he ho seguinte = Para Patane roupas assy de Cambaya como de toda a costa de Chora-

mandel que sejam a seu modo porque cada nassã do sul tem seu modo de roupas = e de Patane se trazem pataquas, algum ouro, boas pedras bazares, arros, carnes, legumes, asucar preto de cana, azeytes, e todo o genero de mantimentos, has milhores gallinhas e capõis de todo o sul.

Este reyno de Patane nã se gouerna senã por molher por costume muy antigo: Esta çento e sinquoenta legoas de Mallaqua por Costa e assỹ se pode vir por ella sem mousã de norte: particullarmente em balôs que sam como nauios darmada nã tam compridos mas de mais bojo cõ dous mastros e seus remos com dous lemes que chamã Camudes; e em galles Malayos que sam menores que as nossas Panchelõis que nã sam gales, nem balôs, e mais paressem ballos que gualles, cõ seus remos, e Bantĩs do tamanho de huma Manchua grandemente ligeyros com remos e dous mastros: que sã hos em que mais ordinariamente se nauega na costa de Mallaqua com marinheyros Malayos de Malaqua Christãos que leuam suas espingardas e panellas de poluora =.

De Camboja onde hâ igreja e padres da Companhia, e o Rey muyto amigo dos Portuguezes, e hâ muyta madeyra de Angellim muyto grossa, se tras muyto bom Bejoim amendoado muyta bom lacre de formiga: Muyto arros milhor e mais barato que ho de Bengalla; a mayor parte da gente que aquy asiste sam Japõis Christãos, e Chinas Valhaquos que lansaram de Manilha os Castellanos peresses, ou elles fogirã; e assỹ sam hos mayores enemigos que temos: ha tãbem neste reyno muyto Callamba e aguilla = Na costa de Champa hâ dous ou tres portos a que vam os Portugueses comersear, leuã boyõis pretos da China, e algum fio de ouro; e resgatã pao preto muyto mayor e milhor que ho de Mosambique: hâ aqui Igreja e Christandade cõ hum padre da Companhia =.

Esta adiante o reyno de Cochim China e antes de entrar em seu porto junto delle esta huma Ilha donde os padres da Companhia tem Christandade que se chama Pullo Cambim: e

entrando no dito porto tem nelle os ditos padres Igreja e Christandade.

Alem da dita Ilha = hâ dous portos neste reyno onde comerseã os portuguezes: hum em que esta O Rey: e outro que chamã Turam. Tem muyto milhor a colheyta que nenhum outro; leuã se pera estes portos muytas roupas de sua sorte (oje esta o contrato por la quebrado pellas forsas do Capitã de Mallaqua, e assy̑ nam se vay la senã da China). Vem do dito reyno alguma calamba, e muyta aguilla, muyta cantidade de cobre que trazem Malayos e Japõis = =. As mais breues viagẽis que se fazẽ de Mallaqua sam pera Pam F. 385b.
que he hum porto oytenta legoas de Mallaqua do dito Rey muyto amigo dos Portuguezes que ho he tambem de Jor e das ilhas maritimas = a este porto nauegam de Malaqua todos sem proybesã, leuã lhe roupas e anfiam, e de la trazem ouro em poo da mesma terra e em moeda, pedras Bazares, e de porquoespim, muyto arros, aguilla da costa, e algumas drogas que hos naturais do sul lhe trazem per nam querer vir a Malaqua =. Ha na mesma terra mais dous rios do mesmo Rey: onde se vay comersear e selleua e tras o mesmo = de fronte ao mar esta a Ilha de Pulo Timã piquena montuoza, e muyto pouoada de Malayos: hâ nella muyta Cassa de pombos: hũs animais como corsas muyto bõns e gordos que chama Palandos: muyto bom peyxe fresco: ribeyras de agoa exsellente; muytos figos; e breu = o fundo junto della he de Vinte e sinquo brassas da banda de terra = da ponta da Romania pera dentro esta o porto de Jor que ja se vay pouoando outra ves, em que se fazem oje muytos galles e outras embarcasõis: hâ nelle muyto mantimento, aguilla, e breu =.

Da outra banda naquella corda das ilhas de Bintam = esta a çidade de Bintam outra ves pouoada de nouo cõ muyta gente e muytas fortificasõis por amor de Achem. Deste Rey de Jor e Pam ha outras Ilhas per aquy pouoadas, de pouca considerasã, e nellas mesmas junto ao estreyto de

Sincapura esta o porto de Bullã muyto pouoado de Malayos, frequentado sobre maneyra de muytos mercadores de todo sul onde vem vender suas drogas de que rezulta grande rendimento a ElRey de Pam, o que fazem sem vir a Mallaqua pellas grandes tiranias que hos capitãis daquella fortalleza vzam com elles em lhe tomarem as fazendas por presso muy ynferior ao que corre na terra e assỹ lhe fazerem tãobem leuar a sua moeda muy ordinaria em todas as çidades e fortallezas deste estado e que as tem chegado a igual mizeria de que hos mesmos Olandezes; e hê tanto assỹ em Mallaqua que hos Christaos que vã a estes portos resgatar algumas destas fazendas lhas toma o Capitam por perdidas cõ muytas afrontas: e algũs porisso as metem de noyte em caza e auizã ao Veedor da fazenda para pagarẽ os direytos, cauza poronde se desencaminhã muytas = = =.

Da outra banda desta Ilha na costa da Samatra esta ho porto de Yambe Rio caudallozo, fundo e de apressada corrente, onde os Olandezes sam muy ressebidos e tem sua feytoria e resgatam gram copia de pimenta = Logo mais para Mallaqua pouqua distãsia deste porto esta o grande Rio Andregy donde tambem tiram os Olandezes gram copia de pimenta = ha mais outros Rios em que hâ escalla de pimenta, e aguilla em que se nã falla particullarmente por ser de pouca cõsiderassã = = Junto ha Ilha de Sâbam que esta mais pera Mallaqua esta o porto de Siaca tambem de Malayos onde todas as Luas nouas e cheas ha grandes feyras de todas as couzas do sul, ouro, pedras de presso, e Bazares, Aguilla, Calamba, e outras muytas couzas, e mantimentos = deste porto por hum Rio que vem sayr de fronte de Malaqua esta a boca de Bancalles na Samatra da outra
F. 386. banda de Mallaqua aonde ha todas as Luas a mesma feyra que alem das couzas referidas tem muyta carne de porquo fresca e salgada; e de hũas ouas de peyxe sauel que chamã Trubo de que ha em Mallaqua grande expediente pera todas as partes, Esta aquy na boca de Bancalles o rio

das galles de que de tudo he senhor ElRey da Pã que foy sempre emperador do sul. O estreyto de Sinquapura em que atras fallamos que he onde os Olandezes vem esperar as embarcasõis dos Portuguezes que vem da China, Manilla, Macassa e de todo o Archipellago de Maluco tem muytos canais e tam estreytos que em partes vam as embarcasõis tocando cõ as vergas nos aruores da terra onde as correntes das mares sam grandissimas: a agoa posto que funda muyto clara de maneyra que vem as peyxes andar nella os quais os mercadores que vam nas embarcasõis comprã aos Salletes que são os que abitam este estreyto yndo o peyxe nadando na agoa, e elles o vendem, e vam logo em ballõis muyto lygeyros em que viuem cõ suas famillias e fisgã ho peyxe e o trazem. Sam este Saletes gente pessima e particullarmente contra os Portuguezes; sã velhacos e traydores as mayores espias que tem hos Olandezes porque onde quer que esteja a nossa embarcassã das muytas paragẽis que aly hâ dam logo auizo aos Olandezes e os leuã e encaminhã a ella: de sorte que tem cauzado as mais das perdesõis das nossas frotas; e isto respeyto de os Olandezes lhe-darem grandes datos de tudo ho que assỹ apanhã. E assỹ conuem muyto que as nossas armadas de jaleas e nauios que vam a estes estreytos esperar as ditas frotas fassam toda a gerra possiuel a estes Salletes para os enxotar destas paragẽis =.

As viagẽis de mais importansia que se fazem de Mallaqua sam como fica dito pera a China, aonde se leuauam de Mallaqua todas as drogas do sul; que ja oje nã vam mais que alguma pimenta e pouco ou nenhum crauo que a nos, e massa, esta em poder dos Olandezes: sendo senhores das Ilhas de Banda de donde deytarã hos proprios naturais que andã vagamundos por todo o sul dezeijando alguma ocaziam pera se vingarem e recuperarem suas terras = O mais que leuam pera a China he ho que lhe vay da India, e juntamente pera Manilla ho que se tras de la ja fica dito = He regimento de Mallaqua que nenhuma embarcasã que venha

da Banda do dito estreyto passe sem tomar Mallaqua e fazer aly direytos de tudo ho que trouxer de que pagã des por çento, e dous a Çidade pera forteficassam e artilharia: e ja ouue algumas que passando sem tomarem esta fortalleza forã julgadas por perdidas ==.

Fas-se tambem viagem de Mallaca pera o Macasa que he huma Ilha que esta trezentas legoas de Mallaqua ao Veste, de hum Rey Mouro que sabe muy hem fallar Portugues, e tem muytos em suas terras e hê grande seu amigo, o que lhe leuam nã sã mais que roupas; e se trazem as drogas que aly vem vender os naturais do sul, tendo a terra em sý muyto mantimento, e tartaruga, e daquy he de que prinsipalmente se proue Malluquo; para esta Ilha se fas tambem viagem de todo ho estado: ha nella Igrejas cõ padres que administrã os sacramentos aos Portuguezes que aly asistem e vam e vem= Tem este Rey prometido de nã dar porto em sua terra a Olandezes como foy e assỹ tem em sua terra Denamarcos, e Ingrezes= Sendo este Rey e todo seu
F. 386b. reyno gentios mandou pedir a Mallaqua hum padre para lhe mostrar o que era a ley dos Christaos porque se lhe paresesse bem a tomaria: dizem que tardou em yr mais do que premetia couza tam ymportante= e assỹ quando tinha chegado primeyro hum marinheyro de hum pataxo que chamauã Lucar Mouro que lhe ensinou a sua ley e lhe pareseo tam bem que logo a tomou ==.

De Mallaqua a Pera sam quarenta legoas por costa pera a banda de Leste foy este Rey vassallo de Sua Magde muytos annos, e pagaua de pareas hum grande cantidade de callaym ha tres annos que lhe negou as pareas a que responde que ho liurem do Achem e que entã pagara as pareas e sera vassallo de Sua Magde porque com as muytas armadas cõ que ho Achem anda de ordinario nestes mares da de ordinario nas terras deste Rey ho destroe, e lhe catiua sua gente de maneyra que responde ho Rey que muyto bem conhesse de quanta mais ymportansia lhe sera ser sogeyto a Sua Magde

do que ao Achem : mas que nam tem poder pera rezistir a este tirano, e a muyta forsa que tem, e nã lha dando Sua Magde forsado ha de procurar ho remedio de seus reynos com se-lhe-auasallar e pagar as pareas que pagaua a Sua Magde E aynda assỹ teue com que rezester a hũa armada nossa que ho hia castigar = Tem em seus reynos grandes minas de Callaym que he ho metal que fica dito de sorte que sayrã dellas todos os annos de sinquo para seis mil quintais de Callaym ; os quais antigamente vinham todos os mais delles pera Mallaqua e oje nam vem a tersa parte ho mais vam pera ho Achem donde os Olandezes o leuam, e o trazem para a India cõ grandes ganhos =.

A feytoria que ho capitam de Mallaqua tinha em Pera era donde tiraua o mayor ynteresse que oje nã hâ : e por estas e outras couzas descahio tanto esta fortalleza e capitania, que nã ouue prouido que quizese entrar nella no anno de seisçentos trinta e tres : e assỹ foy entrar hum capitam mandado pello Visorrey.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF GOA, FROM PEDRO BARRETTO DE RESENDE'S "LIVRO DO ESTADO DA INDIA ORIENTAL".
Sloane Manuscript, 197.

ILHA DE GOA.

DESCRIPSAM DE ILHA DE GOA E TODAS SUAS ANEXAS.

F. 249. ILHA DE GOA Metropolly e cabessa de todo ho estado da India de que Sua Mag[de]. he senhor esta em altura de quinze graos e quarenta e sinquo menutos. Tem de comprimento duas legoas de sircuyto e de largura huma e em partes pouco mais. Esta pegada cõ a terra firme do Concam do Ballagatte he muy fresca e chea de muytas ortas e palmares com agoas muy boas e comerseada de todo oriente, porque como cabessa concorrem a ella por mar e terra todas suas fazendas e riquezas, e della se espalham por todo o mundo. E antes que entremos em dar mais particullar rezã desta Ilha e Çidade de Goa sera bem que ho fassamos dos fortes passos com que na sua entrada e por toda ella esta forteficada :—

DESCRIPSAM DO FORTE DE NOSSA S[ENH]ORA DO CABO.

Entrando pella ponta de Nossa Senhora do Cabo pera dentro da barra de Goa se a de afastar alguma couza da dita ponta porque lansa ao mar huma restinga de pedras cuberta de agoa pouco mais de mea legoa, fica da banda do sul o outeyro aonde esta a Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Cabo no mais alto delle, de frades Capuchos Recoletos o qual esta leuantado da superfisie do orizonte setenta brassas ficando a dita Igreja em hum terreyro de sinquoenta de roda na qual ha tres sisternas que leuam trinta mil pipas de agoa ;— fica afastado da rais do outeyro pera sima da banda do mar distansia de vinte brassas hum forte pera onde se vay por

huma estrada cuberta que comessa em huma calheta que fica detras do mesmo monte da banda de dentro, de mil passos de comprido athe chegar a huma porta do dito forte por onde se entra a hũa plataforma de çem passos de comprimento e vinte sinquo de largura sercada pella banda do mar de hum parapeyto de seis palmos de altura com seis lugares para outrastantas bombardas: e pella do monte que lhe fica muyto alto e sobranseyro tem hũas sete cazas de sobrado cubertas de terrados bastantes pera viuer nella qualquer pessoa que possa seruir de capitam = E embayxo tem no andar da dita prassa doze cazas em que podem viuer soldados piãis, e bombardeyros: e nemhumas das ditas cazas estã aynda de todo acabadas = Nam asiste neste forte que chamã "Nossa Senhora do Cabo" Capitam nem soldado algum, e so tem hum negro que ho vigia: e tem na ditta plataforma quatro pessas de bronze em seus repayros de quinze athe vinte libras de pillouro de ferro = E como a vigia dos frades emsima he continua tem no dito Conuento monisõis bastantes pera as ditas quatro pessas de artilharia.

Auisam de qualquer couza que paresse ao mar pera se F. 219b.
prouer logo de capitam bombardeyros e gente como se faz porem nam deyxa de estar este forte offeressido a se arroynar com a muyta agoa que pello ynuerno desse do dito monte que fica arroynando as paredes das ditas cazas.

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FORTALLEZA DE PANGIM.

Pello Rio asima hum quarto de legoa do forte de Guaspar Dias esta o Castello de Pangim no qual se fizerã apozentos pera os Visorreis estarem quando vam a barra despedir as armadas e naos do reyno por ficarem mais perto e quando he nesesario em qualquer ocaziã de enemigos estarẽ mais perto da barra = Estam feytos apozentos a borda do Rio e cazas muy bastantes e hum cais onde desembarcã pera as mesmas cazas e posto que ElRey quando se fizerã na era de

seis çentos e quinze se ouue por mal seruido e mandaua que
as pagasse o Visorrey dom Jer[ony]mo de Azeuedo = despois
o ouue por bem paressendo huma das melhores couzas que
tinha o estado como de feyto o hê aonde quando os Visorreis
la nã estã, tem a Çidade hum homem Portugues por ter cuy-
dado das ditas cazas e conserto dellas a que pagã seis X^{es}
cada mes = Estam em Pangim obra de trinta cazas entre
terreas e de Sobrado algũas muyto grandes e fermozas de
Portugueses de Goa e outras dos que fazem aly sua abitassã
de que tambem parte estã ao longo do Rio cõ ortas e pal-
mares de recreasam e rendimento e assỹ vã continuando
algumas cazas athe Sancta Inis que esta mais pera a barra
e dahy athe Nossa Senhora do Cabo aonde estã oyto cazas
assỹ de moradores de Goa: como de algũs velhos ermitõis
Treseyros da Ordem de Sam Françisco; que estam e viuem
F. 250. aly retirados a sombra dos Recolletos do dito Conuento =
Ha em Pangim doze ou treze almadias compridas e estreytas
que leuã des e doze remos por banda que seruẽ de leuar
auiso a qualquer parte e prinsipalmente ao norte, e tam-
bem pessoas e fazendas de pouco vollume porque por sua
muyta ligeyreza nauegam sem armadas porque nam vam
sogeytas a paros posto que ja acontesseo tomarem algumas.
O gasto que esta fortalleza de Pangim fas a fazenda real, a
qual nã he mais que hũa torre antigamente alta que oje esta
no meo das cazas em que nã ha artilharia nẽ couza defensa-
vel he o seguinte, etc.

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PASSO DE RIBANDAR.

Adiante de Pangim fica huma ponte que a Çidade de
Goa mandou fazer por mandado do Conde de Linhares
Visorrey pera passagem de hum brasso de Rio do caminho
que vay de Goa feyta sobre vinte e oyto arcos de pedra e
F. 250b. cal muyto forte e fermoza: da qual sa vay continuando hum
fermozo cais, ou caminho por meio do Rio de quazi huma

legoa de comprido obra insigne cõ que fica o dito camynho muy fassil pera qualquer ocaziã apressada como ordinariamente acontese o que nam era antigamente antes de se fazer esta obra porque se nam podia yr senã por mar em manchuas que primeyro que se achassem pera qualquer suseso apresado; Era nessessario pera isso muyto tempo; e tambem se ficam cobrando huñs pedassos de varzeas muyto grandes que ho Conde de Linhares Vizorrey aplicou pera sustento do Ospital da Piedade que elle edificou e ynstetuhio.

Esta neste porto e paragem de Ribandar hum passo cõ hum balluarte piqueno de des passos de comprido e seis de largo onde esta somente hum sino de vegia que como a artilharia aquy nam serue mais que pera hos da terra se pode por cada ues que for nessessaria = ficam lhe pegadas as cazas do Capitam ou tanadar, e muytas outras ha roda em que viuem Portugueses e Canarĩs cõ huma Igreja que por todos serã passante de vinte, e muytos palmares de huma e outra banda.

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PASSO DE DAUGỸ.

Passando pella Çidade de Goa indo pello Rio asima de propia parte em terra da mesma Ilha esta ho passo de Daugim chamado por outro nome da Madre de D[eo]s: pello mosteyro que lhe-fica peguado de Capuchos Recolletos: F. 251.
Nã he este passo mais que humas cazas grandes sobradãdas onde mora ho capitam ou tanadar do dito passo = Nã hâ nelle artilharia nenhuma mais que hũs de pee de Çeylã, fazendo conta de se-lhe-por quando for nessesaria, porbayxo tem huma porta por onde entrã e saem os que passam pello dito passo de huma para outra parte em manchuas que ha de vigia e almadias pera passagem da gente e para fazerem chegar todas as embarcasõis a registar no dito passo se acazo o nam querem fazer = De fronte da porta do dito passo a borda do Rio pegado na agoa esta hum balluarte

razo coadrado que tem perto de duas brasas de altura, e de roda tem vinte e sinquo pasos andantes no qual se poem artilharia quando he necessaria pera qualquer ocaziã= E da ponta das cazas do passo comessa o muro que vay correndo pella Ilha em roda ao longo do dito Rio muyto grande espasso athe de fronte de Sam João Bautista onde se afasta do Rio e vay cõtinuando pella terra dentro da Ilha como se vera da planta= Tem este muro de altura em partes tres brassos e em partes menos, e em outras mais cõ seus balluartes a espassos pera defenderem os panos de muro que hâ entre hũs e outros posto que de Sam Joã Bautista athe de fronte de Barganỹ onde ja chegaua ho dito muro esta muy ymperfeyto e com muytas quebradas= E nam foy esta obra mais por diante por se entender era de pouco effeyto assỹ por ho sircuyto ser muy grande e descomprasado hauer mister mais de sinquoenta mil homẽs pera ho defenderem como por ficar muy destante da Çidade e aynda dos mais afastados arrabaldes della e tem se alcansado que com ho dinheyro que se gastou nesta obra se pudera ter forteficado a Çidade muyto bem e alem della a Ilha toda em roda quero dizer naquellas partes onde tinha nesesidade de forteficassam e assỹ foy dinheyro perdido o que nella se gastou = Tem este passo de Daugỹ capittam Portugues e fidalgo a quem se paga seu soldo e vensimento: mas ho que ho sustenta he os prois e percalsos e lagimas que lhe importã muyto =

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F. 251b. PASSO SECO CHAMADO DE SAM BRAS.

Passado ho passo de Daugỹ indo correndo a Ilha de Goa a roda ao longo do Rio e muro se segue o passo sequo chamado de Sam Bras = Tem hum balluarte grande de pedra e cal pegado no dito muro: onde estam tres pessas de artilharia de Bronze em seus repayros huma de desoito liuras e as outras de des de pillouro de ferro este passo he

muy perigozo e chegado hâs terras do Idolcam e de mare vazia se pode passar a pee enxuto e a este respeyto tem a guarda e vigia que abayxo se vera a quem se paga da fazenda real o que se segue, etc.

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PASSO DE SANCTIAGO POR OUTRO NOME BENASTARIM.

Continuando ao longo do mesmo Rio e muro adiante a F. 252.
vista deste passo seco esta ho passo de Sanctiago o qual tem no mesmo muro hum balluarte muyto forte e bem feyto em que estam sinquo pessas de artilharia huma de ferro mourisca muyto grande que tira pillouro de pedra de disforme grandeza: e as quatro de bronze que forã dos galleõis de doze athe desoyto liuras de pellouro de ferro = Pera se sayr ao Rio se hã de passar por sinquo, ou seis portas que estam debayxo da Abobada das cazas do capitam ao longo do dito balluarte que todas em tempo de gerra erã de Rastilho, ou alsapã que se fechã do alto da Abobada para-bayxo cayndo por encayxes de pedra; e se abrem leuantan-dose do alto da abobada com mollinetes com que ficaua fortissima a entrada do dito passo, etc.

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PASSO DE SAM JOÃ BAUTISTA: POR OUTRO NOME CARAMBOLLIM.

Ao passo de Sanctiago em roda da Ilha de Goa se segue outro passo que chamã sam Joã Bautista e por outro nome Carambollim porque esta em hũa aldea deste proprio nome o qual nam tem Balluarte nem artilharia alguma fazendo conta de se-lhe-leuar e por no muro quando seja nessessa- F. 252*b*.
rio = para sua guarda e vegia, tem hum Tanadar que he o mesmo que capitam soldados naiques e piãis cujo numero e o que a cada hum se paga da fazenda real se segue, etc.

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PASSO DE SAM LOURENSO POR OUTRO NOME AGASSAYM.

Adiante do passo de Sam Joam Bautista muyto grande distansia pello Rio abayxo quazi de fronte da barra de Mor-Mugã e Ilha de Salsete esta o passo de Sam Lourenso que por outro nome se chama Agassaym porque esta em huma aldea do mesmo nome e he o por onde se passa para as terras de Salsete. Tem por fortalleza hũas cazas de sobrado em que viue o capitã sem outra defensa de balluarte, muro, nem artilharia: fica muyto desuiado da Çidade porque esta quazi no fim da Ilha de Goa, etc.

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F. 253. ### ILHA DE JUÃ.

A Ilha de Juã esta entre a Ilha de Goa e a terra firme pera a banda Nordeste, he de pouco menos de huma legoa de comprimento; e hum tiro de falcã de largura onde mais = Tem na cabessa que comessa da banda de Goa noue moradas de cazas de Portuguezes de pedra e cal, muy boas e fermozas que sam de moradores de Goa = Junto a ellas esta a Igreja de Sancto Esteuam que he fregezia, onde asiste por vigario hum clerigo de casta Canarim = como sam todas as mais das Igrejas da Ilha de Goa e suas adjasentes = Excepto algumas que hos tem frades de Sam Domingos, ou de Sancto Agostinho: e as de Bardes dos de Sam Francisco = E as de Salsete de padres da companhia de Jesus = Perto da esta Ilha de Juã hâ mil e dusentos Canar̃s entre os quais os oytoçentos sam de armas, e a milhor gente de todas as demais Ilhas, e da de Goa: e acodem cõ ellas todas as veses que sam chamados :—Esta Ilha, a de Diuar, Choram, e a das mãgas sam sogeytas ao capitam de Naroa.

ILHA DE DIUAR.

A Ilha de Diuar fica de fronte da Çidade de Goa pera a banda do Norte a qual fas o mesmo Rio cõ outro brasso que

a serca, tera de comprimento huma legoa, e de largo hum quarto e em partes menos, esta nella o castello e passo de Naroa de que abayxo se fara mensã da banda de Leste da terra firme dos Mouros: Tem este Ilha em sỹ passante de quatro mil moradores entre os quais auera dous mil de ar̃mas e as tem, e os mais destes se ocupã em cultiuar as terras : e outros sam pescadores mas todos Christãos hâ nella tres freguezias cõ seus Vigariós cõ as ordinarias que adiante se dira.

PASSO DE NAROA.

Passando pella Çidade de Goa indo pello Rio asima voltando sobre a mã esquerda na ponta da Ilha de Diuar que fica de fronte da terra firme dos Mouros como atras se dis esta hum castello antigo que chamã Naroa, pegado ao qual F. 253*b*.
estã as cazas do Capitam bastantes pera se agasalhar cõ sua famillia = Ao pee do castello ou torre esta huma caza no Rio fundada sobre arcos onde se vegia de mais perto as embarcasõis que passã = A artilharia que tem este torre sam quatro falçois e hum berso porque tambem ella nâ he capas de artilharia de mais porte = Estam junto a este passo des cazas de pedra e cal terreas = onde viuem cazados Portuguezes, etc.

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ILHA DAS MANGAS.

A Ilha das Mangas he hũa ilheta que esta entre esta Ilha de Diuar e a terra firme dos Mouros e a Ilha de Juã tem de comprimento hum tiro de pessa e pouco menos de largo = Nã tem mais que palmares e mangueyras tem humas cazas cõ hũas torrinhas do dono della que lhe seruẽ de fortes e oytenta canarĩs Christãos que a cultiuã e guardã : e nam tem Igreja.

ILHA DE CHORAM. F. 254.

Peguado ha Ilha de Diuar deuedida so por hum brasso de Rio fica a Ilha de Choram pera a banda de Noroeste a qual

tem huma legoa e hum quarto de cõprido e mais de duas de roda: muyto mais abitada que a de Diuar e assỹ chega a ter perto de quinze mil almas dos quais sam de sinquo para seis mil homẽs de gerra sam todos pescadores e lauradores e algũs marinheyros; nam tem esta Ilha de Choram fortalleza nem balluarte algum que a defenda mais que a mesma gente que he a mais rica, e luzida de todas as Ilhas. Tem em sy duas Igrejas = e muytos palmares, mangas, e terras de arros.

CIDADE DE GOA.

A Çidade de Goa esta lansada ao longo do Rio que fas Ilha comessando as cazas della de Panellim athe Madre de D[eo]s em que entrã hos arrabaldes neste comprimento que sera de dous tersos de legoa: A largura he desde ho Rio athe Nossa S[enh]ora da Lus lansando aynda algumas cazas mais adiante the junto ao outeyro de Barganỹ: que serão mil seisçentos passos de largura e pellos outros dous lados da banda do comprimento, fica o grosso da Çidade entre os dous outeyros de Sancto Agostinho, e Nossa S[enh]ora do Monte que ficão Leste Oeste hum do outro, Sancto Agostinho para a banda de Veste e Nossa S[enh]ora de Monte para a de Leste, e dista hum do outro por linha recta dous mil passos e pello oblicar cõ as dissidas e sobidas dous mil e trezentos cada hum destes outeyros fica caualleyro ha çidade de forma que estando artilharia em qualquer delles a poderã com fassillidade arrazar = Os fogos que hâ nesta Çidade de Goa dentro nos ditos lemites sam tres mil e quinhentos a fora os Conuẽtos dos quais os oytoçentos sam de Portuguezes cazados que hũs por outros tem dous escrauos que possã tomar armas = sendo que conhessy muytos que tinhã a desaseis e a vinte: mas tãbẽ algũs nã tinhã nenhũ: Os mais delles sam Cafres, e de outras nasõis da India = Halem destes tem hos ditos Portuguezes cazados oyto pessoas entre escrauos Inutẽis que chamã Bichos e escrauas,

ou negras = aduertindose tambem que posto que ha muytos que não tem pessoa nenhuma destes Inutẽis = hâ caza em que ha vinte escrauas e mais = Todos os ditos cazados tem muytas armas com que ornam suas cazas, assỹ cabides de lansas, azaguayas e partazanas como tambem espingardas de pederneyra e murrã de maneyra que tem armas pera sỹ F. 254b.
e seus escrauos e so lhe podera faltar poluora e ballas que nã tem de portas a dentro = O mais numero de fogos que hâ nesta Çidade sam de cazados prettos Christãos Canarĩs e de outras nasõis da India que tambem tem algũs escrauos de armas que sempre sera a metade do dito numero muytos destes sam offissiais mecanicos: hos dous mil delles homẽs de armas: e posto que algũs delles por sua pobreza as nã tenhã de seu cõ tudo ha outros que sam ricos e tem muytas = Hâ entre este numero de fogos tamhem muytos Gentios moradores, e offissiais Canarĩs, e Guzarates que se sustentã do que tirã e ganham dos Portuguezes; como do mantimento que leuã do terreyro de Goa, acarrettado, e trazido cõ as Armadas que por este effeyto se fazem = Teram este dous mil cazados pretos que hâ em Goa tres mil e quinhentas para quatro mil pessoas em suas cazas Inutẽis e de nenhum prestimo pera nenhuma couza do seruiso delRey; Antes se sustentã assỹ do que ganhã com hos Portuguezes como do mantimento que as armadas trazẽ de fora =

Os soldados Portuguezes e filhos seus que hâ em Goa que se embarcam nas armadas, nam se pode saber nem apontar numero serto: porque ora sam mais e ora menos conforme vem do reyno, de maneyra que as vezes sam mil e as vezes mais e se for como estes annos de seisçentos e trinta para qua em que faltarã dous annos areo naos do reyno; e ouue as mais mortes e mayores doensas que nunqua se viram na India: seram tãto menos quanto o exprimentou o Conde de Linhares que para recuperar Ceylam e Mombassa em tempo de tantas callamidades lhe foy nesessario para tam

grandes emprasas vallerse de Canarĩs e Cafres = e quando logo chegam do reyno os consomem muyto as doensas como tambem a todo o forasteyro que chega a esta Çidade de Goa que ou morrem ou chegam ao ultimo que tal he ho clima della que nam perdoa a ninguem; e em particullar aos mais gordos e de mais carnes porque em lhe dando a doensa em quatro ou sinquo dias os acaba. E posto que a cantidade de fogos referidos e mais abitadores que se declara nesta descripsã da Çidade de Goa seja do numero que se tem visto foy ja tanto mayor do que oje hê que se mostrã muytos bayrros seus despouoados cõ a mayor parte das cazas caydas e as que aynda estã em pee desabitadas; de maneyra que tirado as rellegiõis que oje estam em mayor aumento do que nunqua estiuerã nã tem a Çidade de Goa a tersa parte dos moradores que ja teue = e os que oje hâ mais pobres do que nunqua forã como se vera pello comersio que antigamente tiuerã; e pello que oje tem :—

A Ilha de Goa da grandeza que temos referido tem em sỹ muy boas agoas e muytas fazendas de palmares, e varzeas de arros, e outros legumes e fruytos que possuem a mayor parte os Canarĩs naturays ja todos feytos Christãos sendo tambem muytas fazendas de Portuguezes = hauera aynda por toda a Ilha de Goa quatro mil Gentios moradores
F. 255. nella pouco mais ou menos fora os da Çidade e seus arrabaldes hos mais dos Canarĩs Christaos que viuem pella entre os quais ha muytos que chamã gancares, que sam como offissiais da Camara, sam gente de armas, e conforme a lista que deu o Tanadar Mor que he capitam desta gente sam tres mil e sesenta e dous, has armas de que vzam sam espingardas, espadas, e rodellas, lansas, e arcos e frechas: e todos estes Canarĩs da Ilha de Goa estam debayxo da jurdissã do Tanadar Mor = = Sam estes Canarĩs naturais de Goa muyto dados a papeis e demandas; porque alem de terem grande natural pera escreuerem, hos que se dam a isso fazem muyto exsellente letra por onde hâ mais de mil

escreuentes na Çidade de Goa e por toda a Ilha: posto que hos mais delles no que escreuem aynda que se-lhe-dem copias poem mil negradas, sendo que ha outros que escreuem muyto serto = Sam tantas as demandas que trazem hũs cõ outros ajudando tambem has que hos Portuguezes exersitã: as quais cõ seus modos de requerimentos e trapassas estendem por muyto largos tempos: e paresse a Çidade de Goa mais academia de letigantes, que escolla de armas, nem fortalleza, e Çidade fronteyra e cabessa de hum tam dellatado estado = E podesse afirmar que ha oje em Goa mais escriuãis: sollessitadores: aduogados: e demandistas: que soldados e capitãis que cursem as armas e o seruisso dellas = E em concluzã sam mais de seis mil as demandas que de prezente andam correndo em Goa: e so no Juizo dos feytos auia em Mayo deste anno de seisçentos trinta e sinquo concluzos de muytos annos a esta parte mil e quinhentos feytos a que se nam podia dar vazã alem dos que andauã correndo e por aquy se vira os que aueria nos mais juizos =

Os Mosteyros que ha nesta Ilha de Goa = o primeyro chamado a Madre de D[eo]s que esta ja fora dos arrabaldes da Çidade da banda de Leste junto ao passo de Daugim de Capuchos Recoletos tem de ordinario de trinta e sinquo pera quarẽta relligiosos nam tem ordinaria alguma da fazenda real porque se sustentã de esmollas e nem por isso passam pior que hos outros: Tem estes frades quinze negros que hos seruẽ: e muytos destes frades forã soldados como tambem o forã grande parte dos das outras relligiõis = e quando vã nas armadas por capellãis ou passageyros susede muytas vezes nas ocaziõis de brigas pellejarem cõ tanto vallor os frades como os soldados, ou as menos exortarẽ-nos a isso com crussefixos nas mãos = Esta outro conuẽto fora da Çidade que chamã Nossa S[enh]ora de Pillar, tambem dos mesmos Recolletos Capuchos obra de m[e]a legoa da Çidade onde de ordinario asistem athe des relligiosos = sustentã-se de esmollas como os outros sem

padesserem faltas de tudo ho que lhes he nessessario = = Esta mais nesta Ilha de Goa o Most[ei]ro de Nossa S[enh]ora do Cabo da mesma ordem dos Capuchos Recolletos onde asistem de ordinario athe quinze relligiosos que tambem se sustentã de esmollas a caza esta na paragem que se tẽ referido da qual athe Goa auera duas legoas por terra := Na mesma Ilha de Goa em huma Igreja chamada Sancta
F. 255*b*. Barbara que he fregezia obra de mea legoa da Çidade esta hum Conuento de P[adr]es de Sam Domingos onde asistem de ordinario, oyto, athe des relligiosos a que elles chamã a sua Recolleta tem de ordinario por anno sete mãos e mea de azeyte para alumiar a lampada do sanctissimo sacramento = Nas terras de Bardes esta o Conuento ou Collegio dos Reis Magos que he da ordem de Sam Fran[cis]co onde asistem athe sete relligiosos da dita ordem = Neste conuento ha tambem hum Collegio de meninos pretos e branquos, onde lhes ensinã Latim e ler e escreuer aos que ho nam sabem: Neste Conuento se apozentã hos Vizorreis quando desembarcã das naos em quanto se prepara ho que he nesesario para entrarem em Goa e tambem vã a elle outras muytas vezes = Tem este conuento de ordinaria por anno ho que no titollo das Igrejas de Bardes fica declarado:—

RIBEYRA DOS NAUIOS, GALLES, E MAIS MAIS EMBARCASÕIS DE SUA MAG^{DE}.

Tem esta Çidade de Goa huma ribeyra de Sua Mag^{de} a que chamã a Ribeyra Grande onde mora o Veedor da fazenda e estam os nauios de remo que seruẽ nas armadas, artilharia e fundissã della, ferraria, e dous Almazẽis de prouimentos de toda sorte que sam nessessarios para as armadas = Os nauios que Sua Mag^{de} oje tem em Goa serã athe oytenta, entre nauios sanguiseis, e galleotas = Os sanguiseis carregam sinquoenta athe sesenta candĩs: que cada candil he como vinte alq[uey]res de Portugal = Os nauios athe

oytẽta nouenta candĩs, e as galleotas athe çento e sinquoenta = os mais destes nauios e sanguiseis se fazem em Bassaym por contrato que se fas cõ hos capitãis pella muyta mad[ey]ra, offissiais e mais petrechos que pera isso aly hâ: e de presente porque ho presso da mad[ey]ra tem cresido como em todas as mais couzas; se fas cada sanguisel por quatro çentos e sinquoenta patacõis: e cada nauio por seis çentos e sinquoenta: mas nẽ cõ isso o capitã de Bassaym que ho contratou se ouue por pago antes moue demanda a Sua Mag^de. por ficar notauelmente lezo = E posto que estes nauios durem sinquo e seis annos a todo mais: cõ tudo vam para Mascate, Mallaqua, Sam Thome e outras partes = Aonde ordinariamente ficã quazi todos: e alem disto os sucesos da gerra em que de contino andã sam muy varios e gastã-nos muyto e assỹ he nessesario refazerẽ-se muytas vezes as armadas de nauios nouos e as que escapã durã algũs annos e custa o concertar porque em quazi todos os portos em que entrã tem nessesidade de conserto = Tem mais Sua Mag^de. huma gualle real muyto grande e fermoza a que chamã Sam Miguel e outra mais piquena que arribou indo para Mallaqua = E no porto de Panellim oyto galleõis dos quais se aparelharã quatro pera sayrem cõ dous que este anno vierã do reyno e ficam no estado: e dous que estam prinsipiados no cais de Sancta Cri[stin]a que vem a ser doze por todos e isto a fora a armada de Mascate, Dio, e Mallaqua, que sam do numero de nauios que em a discripsã de cada hũa das ditas fortallezas se aponta = Mais seis nauios de remo que hão de yr cõ hos galleõis cõ seu Capitam Mor e capitãis debayxo das ordeñs do capitam geral dos ditos galleõis.

A artilharia que ho estado tem em Goa de prezente sam F. 256.
somente çento e sinquoenta pessas nos galleõis = sete pessas no forte da Agoada = quatro pessas no forte de Nossa S[enh]ora do Cabo. Tres pessas no forte de Sam Bras do passo seco = Sinquo pessas no forte e passo de

Sanctiago = No forte de MorMugã seis pessas de bronze= desaseis sagres para ho forte de Gaspar Dias e Bardes= No paso de Naroa quatro falcõis e hum berso = huma pesa de ferro de quatro liuras sinquo pessas na galle real = Tres pessas na outra galle mais piquena = Noue pessas nouas na Ribeyra auera mais athe sasenta sagres que andã nos nauios das armadas = Vinte falcõis meios falcõis e bersos = quinze falcõis meios falcõis e bersos no almazẽ que sam por todas trezentas e quatro e a grande falta de cobre que hâ no estado da India he cauza de nã auer muyta conforme trabalha nisso o Conde de Linhares VizoRey mas vay ho buscando por todos os modos, e cõ ho fauor de D[eo]s fundira muyta em seu tempo se estiuer mais annos na India =

A Barra desta Çidade de Goa he depois de entrar da ponta de Nossa S[enh]ora do Cabo e da fortalleza da Agoada pera dentro distansia de mea legoa pello Rio asima de fronte do forte de Guaspar Dias: onde esta hum banco de area que a atrauessa com hum canal de des brassas de largura = e sinquo brassas e mais de preamar de agoas viuas = O Rio no prinsipio entre as ditas pontas tem de largura huma legoa: e entrando para dentro vay fazendo hũa enseada pera detras de Nossa S[enh]ora do Cabo com que fica a largura do Rio mayor e depois vay estreytando pera dentro da forma que na planta se vee = Antes de chegar este Rio ao banco e barra lansa hum braso pera a banda do Norte a que chamã Nelur = o qual vay distansia de huma legoa pellas terras de Bardes dentro e nã torna a fazer sayda neste Rio se uã meter muytos nauios dos que hâ em Goa de trato = Passando de Pangim fas este Rio dous brassos hum para o Sul e outro para o Norte: o do Sul vay athe Sancta Crus e nam passa mais adiante nem tem sayda para outra parte, O outro brasso que lansa para a banda do Norte vay fazendo as Ilhas de Choram, Diuar, e Juã: e nem por isso deyxa ho Rio de Goa de ter fundo bastãte para estarẽ nelle surtos e yrem e virem athe as naos de reyno que sam as mayores embarcasõis que

nauegã o mar = = A barra de Goa a Velha tem tambem hum banco de area que a atrauessã; por meo do coal esta o canal de çem brasas de largura e sinquo de fundo de preamar: e seis de agoas viuas: o canal de Goa demanda ao Veste; e o desta barra ao Sul: por onde se entra nella aynda com Sul como fizerã muytas embarcasõis cõ ho ynuerno = e quando as naos ou galleõis se recolhem a Mormugã se ficam seruindo desta barra de Goa a Velha por lhe ficar em direytura =

A costa desta Ilha de Goa corre ao mesmo rumo de Norte a sul que a de Damã; Bassaym; e Chaul: nam prefeytamente metendo mais pera susueste e nornordeste e quanto mais se vay pera o Sul mais vay a costa metendo pera o susueste = Os ventos que cursam nesta costa sã hos mesmos que temos dito atras, ha nella athe o Cabo dõ Comorim = As correntes tambem sam quazi as mesmas que temos dito da costa do Norte tirado que como esta Goa F. 256b.
desuiada de Cambaya e çem legoas nam lhe alcansa ja as correntes furiozas de suas mares = =

As viagẽis que se fazem de Goa sam muytas porque se nauega para ho reyno e para todo ho estado com toda sorte de embarcasõis = A prinsipal viagem e de mais porte que se fas de Goa he pera Portugal em naos de quatro cubertas que sam as mayores em que se nauega no mar salgado = Onde se leuã e trazem grande copia de toda sorte de fazendas = As que vam de Portugual sam as milhores e de mais ganho, ouro, e prata; porque alem dos sinquoenta por çento que se ganha de Portugal para a India se ganha mais a cresensa que as pattaquas vallem mais de oyto tangas, que de presente vallem noue tangas e mea = e aynda mais e assỹ vay tambẽ o ouro cressendo ao mesmo theor = Cauza por que forã cressendo as fazendas e tudo ho mais que neste estado se compra com ouro e prata, a tanto que ja raramente se pode ter ganho nellas; ao que nã hâ poder se buscar remedio = porque como o ouro e pratta hê fazenda por

todo este estado, vay cressendo e abayxando conforme a falta delle hâ = Trasse de Portugual muyto coral, assỹ em ramos : como redondo = panos de vestir de toda sorte de lã : e a mesma lã = e tambem pano de linho branquo, muytas esmeraldas, robĩs, perolas, e aljofres grandes = que posto que estas tres ultimos espessies se leuaram da India pera Portugal ; com tudo cresserã depois tanto em presso na India que se tornarã a trazer a ella cõ grandes ynteresses ; e assỹ tambẽ outras pedras preciozas de diferentes sortes : assỹ soltas como feytas em joyas. Todo ho genero e sorte de couzas de comer e beber tirado pam e vaca, que se nam pode trazer por veniaga : e quaisquer pessas ricas e curiozas que hos Reis deste oriente comprã = folhas de espada largas e estreytas porque as estreytas seruẽ pera os Portuguezes, e tambem as largas porem estas comprã mais comũmente os naturais, e particullarmente os Mouros, e tambem artilharia, e com mais commodidade a de ferro que se viera muyto alem do muyto que se ynteressa nella se ganhara muyto mais em ficar todo ho estado prouido cõ ella para defensa de suas Cidades fortallezas e embarcasõis = e em effeyto athe pedras de atafona se trazem de Portugual e com grande ganho sendo hum dos milhores lastros que podem trazer as naos = Todas estas fazendas que vem de Portugual nam pagam direytos nenhũs sendo os ganhos dellas has vezes exsesivas : e na prata e ouro assỹ em pessas, como em moeda sempre passa de sinquoenta por çento : couza porque as naos vem a custar tanto ha fazenda real e renderem tam pouco = = =

O que leua da India sam muytas couzas porem nas mais dellas ha oje muyto pouco ynteresse ; pellos Olandezes e Ingrezes encherem toda a Europa de roupas : em que auia, e nas drogas, o prinsipal ganho deste comersio e aynda assỹ leuam pimenta por conta delRey,—e algumas roupas de Cambaya : caras e roĩns : porque tãbem estas sã tam ynferiores ; e so menos do que antigamente que aynda que nã estiuerã tam

sobidas de presso, e os Ollandezes e Ingrezes as nã leuarã aynda assỹ em grande copia forã hos ganhos muy piquenos = F. 257. Leuã se tambem algumas roupas de Tutocorim que nam estã tam vesiadas : mas tambem nestas ha pouco ganho = pessas de eruas de Bengalla = porque as cassas ja nã sam de nenhum ynteresse = Leuanse tambem algũs enricollados e Ballachos de Negapatã e pimenta de Canara e costa do Mallauar, e canella de Ceylão = e desta se nã partessipã os Olandezes e tambem alguma do mato = e no tocante hâs mais drogas, nos, e massa, ja nam vem a nossos mãos, e crauo muy pouco o qual tambem se leua pera Portugual; e todas as fazendas de Chyna como sedas em pessas e em rama: porem estam oje em tã alto presso que nã se leuã ja para veniaga pello pouco ganho, ou nenhum que pode auer nellas = Hia antigamente muyto anil de Cambaya: Ja oje pello leuarem Ingrezes e Olandezes nem na India esta em presso pera se poder leuar, nem em Portugual tem expediente= Alem destas fazendas se leuã outras de pouco momento como huma fruyta que chamã Coca, e por outro nome Matapeyxe = Courama = Cayxaria dourados de Japã e China = Escritorios e contadores de Dio, e de todo o Norte = colchas lauradas e camas de Dio, Chaul, Bengalla, e China = e Caurim por outro nome Buzio = athe couseyras pera portas se leuã da India: muyto pao preto de Mosambique e muyto arros que alem de ser mantimento he veniaga em que se ganha mais que em muytas das outras = e por remate de tudo se leua e tem leuado muytos diamantes das minas nouas que se abrirã, e ouue nao que leuaua duas arrobas de diamantes: porem oje sam ja muyto menos e assỹ pellas ditas cauzas esta este comersio de Portugual muy acabado: sendo que se nauegaua nelle mais de dous milhõis de ouro; e oje apenas andarã trezentos mil cruzados: de sorte que nem os offisiais tem quem lhe carregue, nem elles com que carregar seus gasalhados = O tempo em que costumã partir estas naos da India pera ho reyno hê desde o prinsipio de

Dezembro athe meo do Março: porem em passando des, ou doze de Feuereyro = se nã vam athe Mosambique cõ a Mousã dos Leuantes com que partem as embarcasõis que vam para esta fortalleza: passam cõ trabalho o Cabo de Boa Esperansa: e quando chegam a costa de Portugal he ja quazi ynuerno em que padessem tambem ygoais detrimentos assỹ naos, como gente, e fazendas = = =

As viagẽis depois das do reyno que se fazem de Goa de mais considerassã sam para Mosambique e sam estanques que se dam por despacho: e sem trabalho rendem ao dono des, e doze mil X.^es conforme as embarcasõis que vam de tres, quatro, athe sinquo Pataxos: leuam roupas como fica dito: e todo ho genero de mantimentos o que tudo se declara no titollo de Mosambique: Onde se pos tãbem ho tempo em que vã e vem: ho muyto que as vezes trazem estas embarcasõis que ordinariamente sam pataxos de quinhentos athe mil Candĩs = e andara neste comersio melhoria de hum milhã = = = As viagẽis de Goa pera Mombassa e toda aquella costa sam de pouco momento que em Goa nã hâ as roupas que nella so vallem. E assỹ estas se fazem de
F. 257b. Dio, Damã, e Chaul: e quando de Goa vay alguma galleota, leua prouimentos e algumas teadas e se tras sera, escrauos, marfim, e ambre = Vam, e vem no mesmo tempo que a Mosambique = Andara neste comersio de Goa des athe doze mil X.^es = = =

As viagẽis que tambem se fazem de Goa de ymportansia sam as de Mascate e Basora, porque quem vay a Bassora, primeyro ha de yr a Mascate, e nem sempre as embarcasõis que vam a Mascate passam a Bassora senã as que querem pagar direytos do que leuam em Mascate: o que selleua ja atras fica dito e os tempos em que nauegã onde andam pataxos e galleotas e nauios de remo = Trarsehâ empregado neste comersio quinhentos mil X.^es = e as vezes mais, e menos = a mayor copia que de Mascate vem emprezado pera Goa hê em aljofar de Baharem em que hâ muyto ganho

porem de nenhum se paga direytos porque como he couza de pouco volume fasilmente se esconde = Nauegasse de Goa pera ho Sinde leuando marfim: cocos = copra = calaym que hê hum metal da cor de estanho alguma couza mais duro, e todas as drogas de pimenta: crauo: cardamomo: canella: gengiure: e nos: e massa: Vay se em galleotas de quatro çentos athe quinhentos candĩs no mesmo tempo em que vam para Mascate = e assỹ tãbem ha vinda trazem roupas de toda sorte de mais dura que as de Cambaya e athe as camizas e ciroulas feytas pello pouco que custã hos feytios, e esta gente do Sinde ser particularmente dada a cozer e laurar de sorte que athe couros vem de la laurados muyto curiozamente de seda que sam de muyta dura e estima = andarã neste comersio empregados de oytenta athe çem mil X.es = o que se yntende so nas embarcasõis que vam e vem pera Goa = = = As viagẽis que se fazem de Goa para Cacha e Nagana nam sam ordinarias de todos os annos senam quando se offeresse; vam e vem em galleotas de remo, e pataxos, no mesmo tempo que ao Sinde e Mascatte posto que em galleotas de remo sam muy arriscadas, pellos muytos paros que vam aquella enseada: e os Sanganes tambem andarem roubando como fica dito = o que se leua, e tras fica referido ja em seu lugar: e quando se fazem as viagẽis a saluamento dam muyto proueito e ynteresse = Andam neste comersio de vinte athe trinta mil X.es =

A nauegassã que se fas de Goa para Dio nã he em rezam do comersio de considerassã porque em Dio, nã hâ mais que ho que fica dito: senã por respeyto do prouerẽ esta fortalleza do nessessario: e assỹ nã se vay lâ senã com a armada que leua a Cafilla pera Cambaya pera onde de Goa hiã todos os verõis duas Cafillas com grande copia de nauios de remo que as uezes chegauam a trezentos: porem oje pellas rezõis apontadas apenas hâ cõ que poder yr huma e os nauios de Cafilla nã chegam a quarẽta e esses aynda vem descarregados: nam tendo mais ynteresses que ho que leuã de

fretes e aynda em copra, cocos, areca, marfim, e callaym e algumas drogas posto que poucas = e assỹ andando antigamente neste comersio empregados mais de dous milhõis: nã chegam a andar oje çento e sinquoenta mil X.es: donde se deyxa bem vir a grande perda e descayda que so nesta
F. 258. terra derã as Olandezes e Yngrezes a este estado =

Para a banda do sul se fazem de Goa muytas viagẽis e nauegasõis as primeyras sam para o Canara com armada que leua e tras quatro Cafillas huma mais ou menos todos os verõis de arros e trazer pimenta para as naos em que andã ora çento, ora çento e sinquoenta nauios entre grandes e piquenas que chamã parangues, e trazem tãbẽ de Onor e Cananor a madeyra de mastros e vergas, nessessarios pera ą ribeyra de Sua Mag.de Anda neste comersio do arros a fora a pimenta mais de trezentos mil X.es = = =

A armada do Cabo de Comorim leua e tras a Cafilla de Cochim duas vezes cada verã = A primeyra com a Cafilla que vay buscar a pimenta pera as naos do reyno e a cayxaria courama e mais fazendas de roupas de Sam Thome, Negapatam e Tutocorim em que andauã de trinta pera correnta nauios de Remo e oje a penas chegam a doze = Andarã neste comersio empregados a fora a pimenta sesenta athe oytenta mil X.es = = = A segunda vez que vay a armada a Cochim chega athe o Cabo de Comorim onde antigamente hia esperar as embarcasõis da China, Mallaqua, e Bengalla, que ja agora sam quazi nenhũas mais que algumas de Mallaqua: de Bengalla muy poucas, e menos da China = Tras esta armada as embarcasõis da Costa de Travancor, Coulam, e Cochim afora os moradores de Tutocorim e as fazendas que aly vam parar de Bengalla, Mallaqua, China, e Manilla: Era esta Cafilla antigamente de sinquoenta e mais nauios: hoje nã chegã a des = Andarã neste comersio de quarenta para sinquoenta mil X.es e quando as vezes vem embarcasõis do sul hum nauio tras esta contia sô = O tempo em que custuma yr he em Feuereyro; e uir por todo

Mayo: e tambem costuma trazer a Goa arros das fortallezas do Canara = = =

A nauegassã que se fas de Goa para Ceylã he em pataxos ou galleotas de remo: Vam por todo Setembro quatro, ou sinquo pataxos; ou des ou doze galleotas pera trazerem a canella que oje corre so por conta de Sua Mag.de e assỹ nenhum vassalo ynteressa neste comersio mais que hos fretes porque lhe fretam as ditas embarcasõis as quais tambem leuã algũs prouymentos pera a dita Ilha de gente e o mais que lhe he nessessario pera sustento de seus moradores = A cantidade de canella que trazem sam dous mil athe tres mil bares = que cada bar sam em Goa tres quintais e des arratẽis = Importou esta canella a Sua Magde o anno de seisçentos trinta e tres por yndustria do Conde de Linhares çento e sinquoenta mil X.es de que se tirarã hos gastos: Trazem tambem estas carauellas, e pataxos, os Ellefantes de Ceylã pera em Goa se venderem por conta de Sua Mag.de ho numero he conforme se cassã: que ordinariamente hê de sete athe des = o presso por que se vendem tambem nã he serto, porque he conforme a grandeza, e a boa ocaziã = porque hâ Ellefante por que se dã dous e tres mil pagodes, de noue çentos rẽs o pagode = E outros tãbem vallem menos. He animal que custa muyto a embarcar e trazer por sua grandeza; e tãobem morrem muytos — Trazem as ditas embarcasõis muytos cocos por F. 258b.
lastro e as curiozidades de Ceylã de cabides de lansas, alabardas, ymagẽis de marfim, pessas de cristal, esteyras e chapeos de palha que sam de muyta estima =

A nauegassã que antigamente se fazia de Goa pera a China era tirado a do reyno a mais rica; e de mayores cabedais que auia neste estado = porque so a primeyra nao que chamauã a da prata que tomarã os Olandezes aos Portuguezes na India = a primeyra promessa que se lhe fes de partido porque alargassem, forã mil pãis de ouro que cada pã tem tres quartas de arratal = e oje ha anno em que

apenas hâ quem queyra carregar huma galeota de trezento pera quatro çentos candïs pella continua asistencia cõ que os Olandezes estam esperando no estreyto de Sincapura estas embarcasõis que vam de Goa para a China ou pera Manilla e de la passã ha China = O que leuã para Manilla sam vinhos = azeites = escrauos = amendoas = farinhas = pimenta = cordoalha = roupas de cachas, e algumas beatilhas, e canequïs = e o mais que se leuaua nos primeyros tempos erã muytas joyas de diamantes de que a fazenda real nam tinha nenhũs direytos ymportando grandes contias: Mas foram tantos que ja oje la tem menos vallia que em Goa = e assӯ nas embarcasõis que vam e vem a China e Manilla andaram de duzentos e sinquoenta para trezentos mil X.^es^ prosupondo como atras fica dito que estas embarcasõis sam esperadas nas monsõis da vinda no estreyto de Sinquapura: de quatro sinquo e seis, entre naos e pataxos Olandezes muy bem artilhados e so cõ ho lastro pera ficarem mais ligeyros = Onde tomando as nossas empachadas e carregadas sem artilharia; ou muy pouco para se defenderem sam tomadas e vendo o pouco meo que ha para lhe escaparem os que vem nellas dam cõ as galleotas, ou pataxos a costa e âs vezes os queymã: saluando o ouro que he sustansia de tudo: e alguma pedraria de rubïs e aljofres, e almiscar: por cuja cauza, o mayor ou quazi todo o emprezo he nestas duas couzas: sendo o lastro e mais carga de muyta menos ymportansia: Mas como as fazendas da China sam todas de muyta vallia: nunqua deyxam de ser de muyta considerassã quaisquer que hos enemigos tomã: porque nunqua podem deyxar de ser ao menos = Tutunaga que he hum metal mais preto que estanho: e Calaim muyto mais duro: lancoas que he por outro nome galangas = lousa de toda sorte e a milhor que ha no mundo: pao da China = asucares boñs e muytos branquos = em fim muyta seda assӯ em pessas como em rama: muytos dourados: que qualquer destas couzas sam de grande presso e a

falta dellas as fas aynda sobir mais = O que vem de Manilla sam asucares que a mesma terra dá tam bõs como os da China = sapã que he hum pao que tambem aly nasse que serue de tintas = crauo = tartaruga = e algum ouro tambem da terra = Os tempos em que vam estas embarcasõis para Manilla e China hê desde Março athe todo Mayo: e quando vem na monsã do sedo he em Dezembro: chegando a Goa em Janeyro = e na do tarde em Feuereyro: e chegam a Goa em Março, Abril, athe Mayo = = = F. 259.

A nauegassam de Goa para Mallaqua se fas no mesmo tempo que para a China e Manilla e alem disso tambem em Setembro = Esta este comersio ja quazi de todo acabado: porque como em Malaqua nam auia mais que as fazendas do sul de que as prinsipais erã drogas de pimenta, crauo, nos, massa = e todas as tinhã os Olandezes e Ingrezes senhoreado; e os Jaos e Mallayos nam vinhã buscar a Mallaqua as roupas de que se vestem pellas terem pellos Olandezes. Esta esta fortalleza oje tam falta de comersio, e trato: que sendo huma das tres da India, nam ouue em Setembro de seisçento trinta e tres prouido que quizesse yr entrar nella por onde se mandou capitam por Sua Mag^{de} mas aynda vam huma; e duas embarcasõis de quinhentos para seisçentos candĩs: e trarã neste trato em Callaym, que he sô o que oje hâ em Mallaqua, e algum crauo, e tartaruga, que lhe vem do Macassa sinquoenta mil X^{es} empregados a fora algumas miudezas que nam sam de momento.

Vem a Goa alem das partes referidas huma nao mourisca todos os annos piquena do Rey de Carem do estreyto de Meca = que esta em pas cõ ho estado que tras ensenso, e azeure; e algũs chamallottes = = = Das Ilhas de Maldiua e de Mamale vam tambem muytas gundras que sã hũs nauios de remo piquenos e malfeytos pellos quais se dis que a palmeyra poem hum nauio ha vella: porque ho casco he do mesmo pao da palmeyra, cozido cõ ho cayro dos seus cocos: a carga dellas he ho mesmo cayro dos

cocos = Ho mantimento da gente destas embarcasõis os mesmos cocos, e a agoa delles mesmos = os mastros, e as virgas das palmeyras = as vellas de esteyras de palma = As de Mamalle nam trazem mais que cayro, e destas vem mais todo pera a ribeyra de Goa = As de Maldiua vem raramente a Goa; e trazem cayro = ou buzio e destas Ilhas he todo ho que hâ neste estado = peyxe sequo que chamã comballamas: algum ambar, tartaruga = e coco que chamã de Maldiua ou das Ilhas que se tem por grande contrapessonha muytas esteyras e cocos ordinarios que inda que piquenos se tem por de milhor carne que hos mais da India = O tempo em que vam e vem he desde Setembro athe Mayo: em quanto dura o verã = Trara o comersio da nao do Rey de Cayxim e destas gundras empregado ao redor de trinta mil X^{es} =

De tudo ho referido se collige que andã nos comersios e nauegassõis da Çidade de Goa dous milhois; oyto çentos e sinquoenta e dous mil X^{es}, porem ha se de considerar que as vezes o mesmo cabedal que anda em hum comersio, anda tambem em outro, ou parte delle, como nos comersios da costa de Goa pera Cambaya, ou pera Cochim = e tambem parte destes dous milhõis he de gentios que hũs sam vassallos de Sua Mag^{de} e outros nam: e que muytos embarcasõis de todas as partes fazem naofragio: ou sam tomadas dos enemigos Ingrezes, ou Olandezes que com grandes escoadras de naos ocupã estes mares: e nã menos de muitos paros: que tem feyto e fazem muyto dano = e assỹ que contra todos estes empedimentos e outros muitos sendo nam menos os castigos do Çeo de tromentas: fomes: pestes: e outros malles: hâ de andar sempre preuenindo remedios quem tem âs costas apezado gouerno deste estado.

F. 259*b*. O Rey da terra dentro com quem confinã estas nossas de Goa: Bardes: e Salsette se chama o Idalcam, ou Idalxá: capitam antigo que foy do Rey de Bisnaga e se lhe leuantou com esta parte das terras que gouernaua: de Gentio se fis

Mouro: como se fizeram deste Oriente = O seu reyno por costa he desde o Rio do Mar athe Merizeu que sam sesenta e duas legoas de costa e pello sertã dentro se estendera neste distrito a doze legoas = A mayor parte de seus vassallos sam Mouros mas aynda tem algũs Gentios = A gente que pode por em campo chegou ajuntar o anno passado em Vijapor que he a sua corte sinquoenta mil homẽs de cauallo pera se defender do Mogor que lhe pos serco nella, afora hos de pee de que nam fazem numero como ja fica dito: porem estes cauallos sã hos mais delles guadaras: e entre oyto ou des se achara hum bom arabio ou partio, porque os da terra aynda que nassã delles ja não sam couza de considerassam, donde tambem se pode ver ho que sera dos homẽs. As armas de que se vzam sam todas as que se vzam em Europa e sobre ellas muytos arcos e frechas hos de pee = e assỹ tambem vzã de artilharia prinsipalmente em defensa de suas fortallezas = A forma de pas que guarda cõ ho estado he ser ho Idalcã amigo de amigos e enemigo de enemigos: porem nam guarda elle isto tam pontualmente: porque tem comersio com ho Dachem onde manda naos de Dabul Çidade sua que esta no Norte, nam se lhe dando do nosso feytor Portugues que esta na dita Çidade como atras fica dito: e ha Persia nauios hũs e outros sem cartazes: e em outros muytos particullares nã guardam os capitãis e gouernadores do Idalcã os capitallos das pazes fazendo algumas semrezõis aos vassallos de Sua Mag.de Christandade nenhuma tem os naturais do Idalcam = antes acolhendose os escrauos dos Portuguezes de Goa, ou os mesmos Portuguezes para sua terras os deyxa viuer em que ley querem: e ordinariamente os escrauos renegam e os Portuguezes viuem muy fora da ley que professã = He costume e capitallo das pazes que tenha sempre o Idalcam hum embayxador na corte da Goa como ordinariamente asiste posto que algumas vezes falta; e a despeza que faz he a custa de seu Rey, so as cazas lhe da ho estado = e nas

fazendas que aprezenta na alfandega se lhe quitam mil e quinhentos Xes por contrato.

As fazendas que hâ nestas terras do Idalcã nam sam outras mais que algumas roupas que chamã beatilhas; argarĩs; pacharĩs; teadas; pedras bazares; grande copia de diamantes de minas que a quinze annos se descobrirã de nouo nas terras do Rey de Golconda que chamã Cotumaxa que confinã com estas do Idalcam: e desde o descobrimẽto das ditas minas athe o prezente se tem empregado mais de des milhõis nos ditos diamantes com nenhum, ou muy pouco ynteresse da fazenda real = a cuio respeyto o Conde de Linhares Vizorrey tem criado o offissio de Corretor Mor da pedraria com que se tem esperansa poder a fazenda real ter
F. 260. mais proueyto da muyta deste estado:—Vem mais das terras de Idalcam para Goa toda a sorte de mantimentos cauza porque hos Mouros tem com este estado algũs maos termos paressindo-lhe que nos tem o sustento em suas mãos particullarmente trigo, e carnes, e legumes de que comem os cauallos: e muyto mais que tudo isto os marinheyros dos nauios de remo = =

As fazendas por que se resgatam todas as que vem das terras do Idalcam que lhe vem desta Çidade de Goa sam todas as drogas do sul, e as mais das que vem do reyno prinsipalmente prata, ouro, coral = e muytas da China como seda, ouro, lousa, pao: e o que com mais ỹnstansia procurã e leuam os vassallos do Idalxa, sam os cauallos Arabios que se trazem de Mascate: e algũs Cachĩs de Cache: posto que estes nã com tanta vontade: e assỹ nã dam tanto por elles: como pellos Arabios— Tem esta Çidade de Goa huma caza de poluora ao longo do Rio hum pouco afastado do Amago da Çidade a qual tinha prinsipiada o Conde da Vidigueyra e a acabou o Conde de Linhares com grande trabalho e asistensia custando-lhe muyto de sua fazenda, he huma das melhores obras e mais bem trassada que ha na India porque tem muytas cazas entre as quais ha tres patios pera

ficarẽ as offissinas tam distantes hũas das outras que auendo desastre de fogo em hũa nã possa empesser hâs mais dentro neste sircuyto ha hũa fonte de agoa muy boa e moem continuamente oyto moynhos cõ mullas =

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As armadas que ho Estado da India lansa sam a primeyra F. 260*b*.
pera a costa do Canara que coñsta athe quinze fustas entre nauios e sanguiseis a segunda he pera ho Norte de athe vinte nauios = a outra pera o cabo de Comorim de huma galle e des na~~uios~~ = outra armada que se chama dos auentureyros que coñsta de athe vinte nauios esta nam sirue mais que de andar buscando paros dos Mallauares, etc.

EPISTOLA

POTENTISSIMI, AC INUICTISSIMI EMANUELIS REGIS PORTUGALIÆ & ALGARBIORUM. &C. DE VICTORIIS HABITIS IN INDIA & MALACHA. AD. S. IN CHRISTO PATREM & D'N'M NOSTRUM D'N'M LEONEM. X. PONT. MAXIMUM.

[*Woodcut of arms of Portugal ensigned with a crown.*]

Anctissimo in Christo Patri, ac bea
tissimo Dño Dño nostro E. S. ad-
S ditissimus filius Emanuel Dei gra
tia Rex Portugalliæ & Algarbior*um*

citra ultraq*ue* mare in Affrica Dominus gui nee & conquiste nauigationis ac cõmertii Ethiopiæ, Arabie, Persiæ, atq*ue* Indiæ, humil lima beatorum pedum oscula. Quantum Deo Opt. Max. q*uan*tum & tibi gratulari debeamus Beatissime Pater, vel ex nuntio q*uo*d nostra Indica Classis proxime attulit satis apparet. Quod enim te Pont. Max. te S. Ro. Ecclesiæ & Christiano Orbi presiden-

te tam admiranda in Dei laudem ac gloriã gesta tam ex uoto successerint tua certe laus tua gloria censeri debet, Iure itaq*ue* uisum est que in India Dei suffragio ad ipsius cultum spectantia nostris armis modo facta sint ad tuam Sanctitatem, utpote totius Christiane Reipublice Caput & orthodoxe religionis normam, carptim ac summatim, ne stilum Epistolarum excedamus prescribere, ut pro rerum dignitate cuncta pensari, summoq*ue* deo accepta referri ualeant, ac indies sui san ctissimi nominis gliscentem laudẽ xp̃ianiq*ue* dogmatis propagationem facile speremus. Igitur paccata post plures dubii Martis ui ctorias non sine labore & sanguine partas, India relictis in ea opportunis presidiis Al phonsus de Albiecherq*ue* protho capitaneus noster ut iacturã, quã superioribus annis nr̃i fecerant, iniuriãq*ue* ulcisceretur auream Cher sonesum, Malacham accole appellant contendit, ea est inter sinum magnum et Gange ticum sita Vrbs mire magnitudinis, utq*ue* ui gintiquinq*ue* millium & amplius larium cen seatur terra ipsa fecundissima, ac nobilissima rum, quas fert India mertium feracissima ce lebratissimum ob id Emporium, ubi non modo uaria aromata & omnigeni odores, sed Auri quoq*ue*, Argenti, Margaritarum ac preciosorum lapillorum magna copia affluit: Hanc Rex Maurus gubernabat eatenus uires suas Maumetica Secta protendente, cætera Gentiles tenent: Huc itaq*ue* cum instructa Classe applicuisset Alphonsus Vrbem oppugnare destinat: Quod presentientes Sarraceni bello, se multis Munitionibus, & Armis præparauerat, sed

frustra: nam commisso bis prælio, nostri omnia ad bellum contra catholica fidei hostes opportuna: militum exercitus: armor*um* ac cõmeatus præsidia ultro offerat: præsertim si mare rubrum suo coniunctum dominio ur̃a classis traiiciat: ubi cõmodissime utriusq*ue* uires iungi possent. Haud exiguũ adorande & uere crucis lignum ad nos mit tit uiros uafros & industrios poscens quor*um* ingenio & artificio a Sulcani territorio & Regione Nilũ deflecti aliqua diuerti posse existimat: aderant tunc apud nostrũ prefectum a Narsingue Rege legati, Rege Genti li adeo potentissimo, ut mille & quingentos belligeros Elephantes armator*um* equitũ qua draginta millia præter innumerũ peditũ nu merum suo arbitrio in aciem paruo negotio proferre tantũq*ue* agri possidere perhibeatur q*uan*tũ semestri itinere uix emettiri possit, huic plures Reges ac Satrapes parent, quor*um* nõ nulli maritimis oris proximi nobis sunt tri butarii. Apud Alfonsum & Cambaye Regis legatus, terra mariq*ue* potentissimi, atq*ue* in ter Mauros maximi. Item a Zabayo Goe quondam dño, atq*ue* a Rege Grosapa, Aliiq*ue* complures Regum Satrapumq*ue* legati a no stro prefecto fedus pacemq*ue* ultro exorantes ac sua munera singuli afferentes, in hac etiã quæ proxime appulit classe ab Armuzii Re ge legatus cum multis margaritar*um* rerumq*ue* pretiosarum donis, in signum uidelicet fide litatis & recognitionis ad nos uenit: Hunc Regem Alfonsus idem urbe oppulẽtissima & p*re*cipuo emporio Armusio ui capto quin decim millium Seraphinorum, ea est aurea moneta ducatis equiualens, annuum nobis

tributarium effecerat. Inter hos successus Pater Beatissime Diuino suffragante numine per uniuersam Indiam plurimi Spiritus sancti gratia igneq*ue* afflati depositis gẽtilitiis erroribus indies ad nostram religionem cõ uersi ueram dei fidem agnoscunt, obq*ue* Deo Opt. Max. summæ gratiæ sunt merito refe rendæ: quod tam procul a nostro orbe, in tam remotis regionibus, quo ne fama quidẽ sui sanctissimi nominis penetrauerat, nostra nunc sedula opera, suam ueram fidem cultumq*ue* celebrari, publicari, ac propagari dignatus sit: unde proculdubio diuina fauen te clementia sperandũ est, cum nunc Prefectus noster ad mare rubrũ ut eius ostio occupato Sarracenis ear*um* partiũ cõmertia interdicat relictis in India oportunis presidiis ingenti classe properat ut ibi coniunctis sub Crucis uexillo presbyteri Ioannis nostrisq*ue* uiribus maximum dei obsequium, & Mau metice secte detrimentum & ignominia sequatur, extremaq*ue* Orientis ora, quo & sacras Apostolor*um* uoces, intonuisse compertum est occidentali nostræ propediem iungatur, & ad ueri dei cultum ipsius suffragante numine traducatur. S. Sedi Apostolicæ ac tuæ sanctitati ut optimo pastori Christia ni gregis more debitum obsequium & obe dientiam oblatura. Bene ualeat Beatitudo tua, quam pientissimus Deus diu ac felicissime conseruare & augere ad uotum dignetur. Dat. in Vrbe nostra Olisipone. 8. idus Junias Anno Dñi. M.D.XIII.

Romæ impressum per Jacobum Mazochium. 9. Augusti.

ERRATA.

Page 19, line 12, *for* "Afonso Noronha", *read* "Afonso de Noronha".

,, 37, ,, 18, *for* "nogotiations", *read* "negotiations".

,, 37, ,, 23, *for* "Batacalá", *read* "Baticalá".

,, 38, ,, 23, *for* "off to the", *read* "off the".

,, 51, ,, 21, *for* "Malacca", *read* "Malaca".

,, 59, ,, 18, *for* "him", *read* "the king".

,, 115 (*n*), line 11, *for* "obrigaç o", *read* "obrigação".